

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS

HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

For the Year 1793.

VOLUME II.

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BY BELKNAP AND HALL,

MDCCXCIII.

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

AMERICAN

ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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CIRCULAR LETTER,
OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

*Respectfully addressed to every Gentleman of Science in the Continent
and Islands of America.*

SIR,

A SOCIETY has lately been instituted in this State, called the HISTORICAL SOCIETY; the professed design of which is, to collect, preserve and communicate, materials for a complete history of this country, and accounts of all valuable efforts of human ingenuity and industry, from the beginning of its settlement. In pursuance of this plan, they have already amassed a large quantity of books, pamphlets and manuscripts; and are still in search of more: A catalogue of which will be printed for the information of the public.

They have also encouraged the publication of a monthly pamphlet in which is given the result of their inquiries, into the natural, political and ecclesiastical history of this country. It is requested that you would contribute to its value and importance, by attention to the articles annexed. The Society beg leave to depend on your obliging answer to these heads of inquiry, when leisure and opportunity will permit.

Your letters addressed, free of expence, to the subscriber, will be gratefully received, and duly noticed in the Society's publications; and you will have the satisfaction of contributing to the general stock of knowledge, with which they hope to entertain the public.

In the name, and by order of the Society,

JEREMY BELKNAP, *Corresponding Secretary.*

Boston in Massachusetts.

November 1, 1791.

Articles on which the Society request information.

1. The time when your town or city was incorporated; its Indian name; when the settlement began; whether it was interrupted, and by what means; to what Colony or County it was first annexed; and if there have been any alterations, what they are, and when made.

2. The exploits, labours and sufferings of the inhabitants in war; particular accounts of devastations, deaths, captivities and redemptions.

3. Divisions of your town or city in parishes and precincts, or the erection of new towns within the former limits.

4. Time of gathering churches of every denomination; names of the several Ministers; the times of their settlement, removal and death and their age at the time of their death.

5. Biographical anecdotes of persons in your town, or within your knowledge, who have been remarkable for ingenuity, enterprise, literature, or any other valuable accomplishment; an account of their literary productions, and if possible, copies of them.

6. Topographical description of your town or county, and its vicinity; mountains, rivers, ponds, animals, vegetable productions; remarkable falls, caverns, minerals, stones, fossils, pigments, medicinal and poisonous substances, their uses and antidotes.

7. The former and present state of cultivation, and your thoughts of farther improvements, either in respect to agriculture, roads or canals.

8. Monuments and relics of the ancient Indians; number and present state of any remaining Indians among you.

9. Singular instances of longevity and fecundity from the first settlement, to the present time.

10. Observations on the weather, diseases, and the influence of the climate, or of particular situations, employments and aliments, especially the effect of spirituous liquors on the human constitution.

11. Accurate bills of mortality, specifying ages and casualties, the proportion of births and deaths; and the increase or decrease of population.

12. Accounts of manufactures and fisheries, and thoughts on the farther improvement of them.

13. Modes of education, private or public; what encouragement given to schools and colleges, and what is done to advance literature whether you have a social library, what is the number of books, and what value.

14. What remarkable events have befallen your State, County, town or particular families or persons at any time.

P. S. The Corresponding Members of this Society are requested to transmit to the Corresponding Secretary, any historical information of which they may be possessed, respecting any part of the American Continent and Islands, together with printed acts and journals of Assemblies and Conventions whether civil or ecclesiastical. And the Society will gratefully receive from them and from all other persons whatever, any books, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps or plans which may be useful in forming an historical collection—and any natural or artificial productions which may enlarge the Museum, the Library, &c.

The Library and Museum are deposited in an apartment of Faneuil Hall. Any person desirous of making a search among the books or manuscripts, may have access to them under such regulations, as may be known by applying to any one of the members.



COLLECTIONS

OF THE

Massachusetts Historical Society.

VOLUME II. *For the Year 1793.*

TOPOGRAPHICAL Description of DUXBOROUGH, in the County of PLYMOUTH. By Rev. Alden Bradford.

THE INCORPORATION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE TOWN.] Duxborough was incorporated in 1637, about eight months after the incorporation of Scituate, in the Colony of Plymouth. Scituate was the first town, whose bounds were fixed.* Duxborough was the second. But there were several families settled in the place, many years before it was incorporated; and some, before any part of Scituate was settled. The reason of the earlier incorporation of Scituate must be attributed, not to the greater number of inhabitants; but to the distance from Plymouth: It being sixteen miles; Duxborough only three miles by water.

The number of inhabitants, when the town was incorporated, cannot be determined. For all the facts relating to the first settlement of the town, cannot be ascertained. There are no records existing of an earlier date than 1654: They were burnt. Probably, there were forty or fifty families; as settlements had been making, for ten years. Capt. Standish, who came to Plymouth with the first adventurers, in 1620, and to whom, with his associates, the tract of land, afterwards Duxborough, was granted, was one of the first settlers in this place. He lived on a nook of land, which is the south-east part of the town. But for

* Plymouth is not an exception. The limits of this town were not determined, until many years after. All that part of the country, which was not within the bounds of the incorporated towns, was considered as belonging to Plymouth.

several years, during the winter months, at the request of the inhabitants he resided in Plymouth, and was the principal officer in the garrison at that place. Capt. Standish was a man of great bravery and enterprise. For many years, he commanded the military force of the colony. In 1652, when the Court thought it necessary to choose a council of war, Capt. Standish was elected a member. Until his death, he was one of the assistants (who were commonly seven) in the government. He was born in Lancashire in England, and was heir apparent to a great estate. He went into Holland, as a soldier, and there became acquainted with Rev. Mr. Robinson, from whose church were several of the most eminent characters, who first settled at Plymouth. Capt. Standish died in 1656, at an advanced age.

In 1632 the brethren, at Duxborough, belonging to the church of Plymouth, were dismissed agreeably to their desire, on account of the inconvenience of attending at Plymouth. Soon after, they formed themselves into a separate, regular church.

NAME.] In the records, for thirty or forty years after the incorporation of the town, it was written Duxburrow. The probable etymology is Dux and borough, or burrow, as it was then written. It being a grant to the Captain or Leader, it was called his borough.*

SITUATION, EXTENT AND BOUNDARIES.] From Boston, to the centre of the town, is thirty-eight miles. From Plymouth to the shire town, by the most public road, are eight miles. The direction from Boston, is S. E. and by S. The south-east part of the town is N. by W. from Plymouth.

When the town was incorporated, it included, beyond its present limits, Pembroke,† the greatest part of Marshfield, part of Kingston and part of Bridgewater. The extent of the town now is, from west to east, six miles, from south to north, four miles.

It is bounded on the east, by a bay, three miles wide; which is separated from the Atlantic by a narrow beach, extending, from the south-east part of Marshfield, parallel to the town, and as far southerly. A bay also, across which to Plymouth are three miles, bounds the south part of the town. On the south-west, it is bounded by the industrious and flourishing town of Kingston. Pembroke bounds the western and Marshfield, the northern part of the town.

SOIL AND PRODUCE.] In general, the soil is warm, sandy and barren. There are, however, many tracts of land, of fifty or sixty acres, whose soil is rich and good; and particularly, the nook of land, in the south-east part of the town, consisting of two hundred or three hundred acres, which is little inferior to any part of the county.

The cultivation of Indian corn is principally attended to: The soil

* Many towns in Plymouth Colony are called after places in England from which the first settlers came. Though there is a town of this name in England, it is said, that no persons, who first came to Plymouth, were from that place.

† The Indian name was Mattakeeset, or Namaakeeset.

is very friendly to it. Rye is also very considerably and successfully cultivated: Beside these, are raised wheat, barley, oats and flax; but not in proportionable quantities, nor with equal success.

The principal reason, why more of the land has not been cultivated, undoubtedly, is the barrenness of the soil. Within the last fifty years, many of the inhabitants have been induced to make settlements in other parts of the country, where their labours are more liberally rewarded. It is very probable, however, that more land would be cultivated, were not the situation so convenient for navigation, which most people prefer to the more laborious life of the farmer. For the last fifty years, not more than two hundred acres, perhaps, have been converted into pasturage or tillage.

WOODS.] Somewhat more than half the town is woodland, though there have been settlements here, one hundred and sixty years. Oak, pitch, and white pine, are most common.* Beside these, there are maple, birch, ash, cedar, and walnut.

HILLS.] The town is neither remarkably hilly nor level. The most extensive plain, consisting of two hundred or three hundred acres, is in the west part of the town, adjoining the post road from Boston to Plymouth. The highest hill is in the south-east part of the town. It rises, immediately, on the south and west, from the bay, which lies between this town and Plymouth. The summit is about four hundred feet from the water: perpendicularly, one hundred and seventy or one hundred and eighty feet. It is called the Captain's hill, or mount, as it makes a part of the farm, which was Capt. Standish's, one of the first settlers in the town. This hill commands an extensive, variegated and delightful prospect. Beyond a bay, about three miles wide, to the south, lies Plymouth, and to the south-west, Kingston. To the west and north-west, beyond three miles of cultivated land, in the town, the country appears to be covered with wood. Far to the north-west, about twenty-five miles, on a strait line, are seen the blue hills, in Milton and Stoughton, rising high above the surrounding country. To the east, the eye is attracted by the Atlantic's wide, extended plain. Turning to the south-east, we have a view of Barnstable Bay, washing the western shore of Cape Cod. Beside the beach, which lies to the east, three miles from the town, the prospect is diversified by two pleasant islands, within the harbour, and the Gurnet;† and enlivened by the passing of vessels, within and without the harbour.

* Capt. Samuel Alden, who died twelve years since, recollected the first white pine in the town. Now, the eighth part, perhaps, of the wood-land is covered with trees of this growth.

† Clarke's Island, consisting of about one hundred acres of excellent land; and Sauquish, which was joined to the Gurnet, by a narrow piece of sand: For several years, the water has made its way across, and insulated it. The Gurnet is an eminence, at the southern extremity of the beach, on which is a light house, built by the State.

PONDS.] A little south of the centre of the town, is Island-creek Pond : so called on account of its being the fountain of a brook, which, near to the bay, as it passes a small island, is known by the name of Island-Creek. The pond is one mile and an half from the salt water. It is half a mile wide ; one and a half in length. The red and sea perch, shiners, pout, and sometimes pickerel, are found in it. Half a mile, north west from this, lies a smaller pond, about one mile in circumference. No streams run into it ; neither is there any communication of water, upon the surface of the earth, from it to the larger pond. It is always very nearly the same height.

AIR.] The air is the same, as in other maritime towns in this State. Undoubted facts prove that it is friendly to health and longevity.† The extremes of heat and cold, are about the same as at Boston and Cambridge, $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees below 0° : $92\frac{1}{2}$ above are the extremes, by Fahrenheit's Thermometer.

It has often, and justly, been observed, that settlements near the salt water are healthy situations. The only reason which can be given, is, that the atmosphere is greatly charged with saline air. It should seem, then, that the idea of an east wind being unhealthy, cannot be true. At Duxborough—and this is generally true of other towns in the State, situated by the salt water—during the months of April, May and June,‡ (the season, in which the east winds, so unpleasant to our

† *Many instances might be mentioned. About two years since, a woman died in the town, aged one hundred and three. Generally, each year affords an instance of the death of a person past ninety. There are now living in the town sixty-three persons, (twenty one males and forty two females) who are more than seventy years old : Twenty (eight males and twelve females) past eighty ; two males within a few months of ninety : One male and five females past ninety. The proportion of those past seventy to the whole number of inhabitants is one in twenty-three. It is not meant to suggest, that the adjoining towns are not equally healthy situations.*

The very advanced age, which several persons of one particular family attained, whose descendants now live in Duxborough, is worthy of notice. John Alden, who came to Plymouth in 1620, who was one of the signers of the compact established immediately upon the arrival of the first settlers, and who, for many years, was chosen an assistant in the government of Plymouth, lived to be eighty-eight years old. David Alden, his son, who lived in Duxborough, attained the age of seventy-three. Captain Samuel Alden, son of David, and grandson of John Alden, lived to the one hundred and sixty-first year, from the settlement of Plymouth, and died at Duxborough in 1780, aged ninety-three. He had a sister, who attained nearly the same age.

‡ In 1778, in the months of April, May, June, July and October, about three hundred persons had the small-pox by inoculation, under the care of Dr. Winslow of Marshfield, on the islands, in the harbour, and not one of them died of the disorder.

feelings, prevail) it has never been observed, that the inhabitants are more exposed to diseases, of any kind : Nor does it appear, that these winds are ever introductory to any.

NUMBER OF INHABITANTS.] The inhabitants are 1460. They were nearly as numerous fifty years ago. The difference, perhaps, is fifty or sixty. It is not probable, that the number of inhabitants will ever be greatly increased. They will, probably, continue to emigrate, as for many years past, and the number will be about the same, as at present.

MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE.] More than one third of the men, who are of an age, fit for labouring life, are engaged in navigation. Twenty vessels, the greater part from sixty to ninety tons, are owned in this town. Several of them are employed in coasting between this and the southern States in the Union. Some make more distant voyages : But the greater number are employed in the cod fishery. They generally secure a comfortable subsistence. About half the inhabitants live by husbandry. Some are employed in the mechanic arts. Ship-building is the most profitable. There are persons of this trade, in the town, who are acknowledged to be as ingenious, as any in the State. Other occupations, which are common in the State, are followed. There is a proportionable number of cabinet-makers, carpenters, smiths and shoe-makers.

RELIGION.] There is only one religious society in the town. This is Congregational. It may be observed, without an exception, that there are no sectaries in the place. The reason, undoubtedly, is, that the clergy have been men of learning, and catholicism. For the last forty years, particularly, the town has been blessed with religious instructors who have been too well acquainted with the Christian system, and too honest, to teach the doctrines of fallible men, or to insist on subjects of "doubtful disputation."

The first settlers lived in the southern part of the town, which lies by the bay between this place and Plymouth. The soil here is better than in most other parts of the town. But probably, they chose this situation, because it is the nearest to Plymouth. The first church stood near the water. It was a very small building. The second building for public worship, was a mile farther north. The situation is pleasant; but not central. It stood about one hundred years. The present church is a very handsome building; it was erected in 1784. It is equally distant from the southern and northern boundaries of the town.

Rev. Ralph Partridge, was the first minister. He was settled as early as the incorporation of the town; and continued in the ministry, in this place, until his death, in 1658. He had been a minister in the church of England; but "being hunted," as he expressed it, "like a partridge upon the mountains, at last, he resolved to get out of their reach, and take his flight to New-England." He was a member of the venerable synod, at Cambridge, in 1646. It was the design of this synod to agree upon a mode of church discipline. Three ministers (Rev. Mr. Partridge was one of them) were chosen to draw up, separately, a mode of church government. From the performances of these

gentlemen, the platform of church government and discipline was composed. Mr. Partridge discovered the spirit of primitive christianity. He suffered much on account of the poverty of his flock, but he did not forsake them. Rev. Mr. Holmes succeeded Mr. Partridge. To Mr. Holmes, Rev. Ichabod Wifwall succeeded. He was the pastor of the church in this place about thirty years: He died at Duxborough. Mr. Wifwall was a native of this country. Mr. Partridge and Mr. Holmes came from England. Mr. Wifwall was two or three years at Harvard college. But he was not graduated. Poverty or sickness must have prevented; not any thing that was unfavourable to his abilities or virtue; for he gave undoubted evidence afterwards, that he possessed both. He was in England, in 1691, an agent for the Colony of Plymouth. While he was in England, he wrote a poem which was occasioned by the appearance of a comet, and which was published in London. Rev. John Robinson, his successor, was settled in 1700. He continued in the ministry, in this place nearly forty years. After Mr. Robinson, was Rev. Samuel Veazie: He was the minister about eight years. Rev. Charles Turner succeeded Mr. Veazie; he was in the ministry in the town seventeen years. Rev. Zedekiah Sanger was settled in 1776. In 1785, his pastoral relation was dissolved. His imperfect state of health obliged him to request it. Mr. Turner, and Mr. Sanger were much respected and beloved by the people of their charge. They still live in their affectionate remembrance. Rev. John Allyn is the present minister. He was ordained in 1788.†

It should not pass unnoticed, that the inhabitants of this town, have always discovered the same spirit, which influenced their ancestors in settling this country; and have ever proved themselves the worthy descendants of those resolute and determined advocates of civil and religious freedom. They opposed, unanimously, the oppressive measures of Great Britain, in the late unnatural war: They have been equally opposed to religious tyranny; and to the absurd systems and unmeaning ceremonies, which fallible and designing men have instituted to enslave the human mind.

† Mr. Allyn is the eight minister ordained in Duxborough, since the incorporation of the town in 1637. Excepting Mr. Partridge and Mr. Holmes, they were educated at Cambridge. Mr. Robinson was graduated in 1695: Mr. Veazie, in 1736: Mr. Turner, in 1752: Mr. Sanger, in 1771: Mr. Allyn, in 1785.

To his much Honoured and Respected friend, Major ATHERTON, at
his House in Dorchester, these present.

Much Honoured and beloved in the Lord.

THOUGH our poor Indians are much molested in most places, in
their proceedings in way of civility, yet the Lord hath put it in
to your hearts, to suffer us to proceed quietly at Ponkipog, for which
I bless God, and am thankful to your self and all the good people of
Dorchester. And now that our proceedings may be the more comfort-
able and peaceable; my request is, that you would please to further
these two motions: First, that you would please to make an order in
your town *secrety*,* and record it in your town records, that you ap-
prove and allow the Indians of Ponkipog, there to sit down, and make
a town, and to enjoy such accommodations, as may be competent to
maintain God's ordinances among them another day. My second re-
quest is, that you would appoint fitting men, who may, in a fit season,
bound and lay out the same, and record that also, and thus commend-
ing you to the Lord, I rest,

your's to serve in the
service of Jesus Christ.

JOHN ELIOT.

Roxbury, this 4th of
the 4th, 57:

Whereas, there was a plantation given, by the town of Dorchester,
unto the Indians at Ponkipog, it was voted, at a general town meeting,
the seventh of December, 1657, that the Indians, shall not alienate or
sell their plantation, or any part thereof, unto any English, upon the
loss or forfeiture, of the plantation.

The same day, it was voted, that the Honoured Major Atherton,
Lieutenant Clap, Ensign Foster, and William Sumner, are desired and
empowered to lay out the Indian Plantation, at Ponkipog, not exceed-
ing six thousand acres of land.

True copy from Dorchester Records;

Attest,

NOAH CLAP, Town Clerk.

* Perhaps, the Clerk, that put Mr. Eliot's letter on the town records,
made a mistake, and put the word *secrety* instead of *certify*.

An Epitaph written by Mr. WILLIAM POLE of Dorchester, who kept
school in the town a number of years, and was a Clerk of the town
several years, in order to be put on his Tomb when dead.

Ho! Passenger it's worth thy pains to stay,
And take a dead man's lesson by the way,
I was what now thou art, and thou shalt be
What I am now, what odds b'twixt me and thee.
Now go thy way, but stay take one word more,
Thy stuff, for aught thou know'st stands next the door,
Death is the door, the door of heaven or hell,
Be warn'd, be arm'd, believe, repent, farewell.

An Inscription on the Grave Stone of the ingenious Mathematician and Printer, Mr. JOHN FOSTER, who died Sept. 9th 1681, aged thirty three years.

Astra colis vivens moriens, super æthera Foster
Scande precor, cælum metiri disce supremum,
Metior atque meum est, emit mihi dives Iesus
Nec tenior quicquam nisi grates solve.

The Rev. Mr. RICHARD MATHER's Epitaph.

D. O. M: Sacer.
Richardus hic dormit Matherus
(Sed nec totus nec mora diuturna)
Lætatus genuisse pares.
Incertum est utrum Doctior an melior,
Anima & Gloria non queunt humari.

Divinely rich, and learned Richard Mather,
Sons like him, prophets great, rejoic'd this father;
Short time his sleeping dust here's cover'd down;
Not his ascended spirit or renown.
V. D. M. in Ang. 16 Annos. In Dorc. N. A. 34 An.
Ob. Apr. 22d. 1669, ætætis suæ 73.

An Epitaph engraven upon the tomb of Lieutenant Governor STOUTON, an inhabitant of Dorchester.

Gulielmus Stoughtonus armiger,
Provinciae Massachutenfis in Nova Anglia Legatus,
deinde Gubernator;
Nec-non Curia in eadem Provincia Superioris
Justiciarius Capitalis,
Hic jacet.
Vir Conjugii Nescius,
Religione Sanctus,
Virtute Clarus,
Doctrina Celebris,
Ingenio Acutus,
Sanguine & Animo puriter Illustris,
Æquitatis Amator,
Legum Propugnator,
Collegii Stoughtoniani Fundator,
Literarum & Literatorum Fautor celeberrimus,
Impietatis & Vitii Hostis acerrimus.
Hunc Rhetores amant facundum,
Hunc Scriptores norunt elegantem,
Hunc Philosophi quærunt sapientem,
Hunc Doctores laudant Theologum,

Hunc Pii Venerantur Austerum,
Hunc Omnes Mirantur; Omnibus ignotum,
Omnibus licet notum.
Quid plura Viator? Quem perdidimus
STOUGHTONUM?

Heu!

Satis dixi, urgent Lachrymæ,
Sileo.

Vixit annos septuaginta,
Septimo die Julii Anno Salutis 1701
Cecidit.

Heu! Heu! Qualis Luctus?

*Copy of a Letter from the Rev. COTTON MATHER to Dr. JOHN
WOODWARD; probably the Secretary of the Royal Society in
London.*

A TIDE and STORM of uncommon circumstances,

SIR,

THE reading of a storm is not so bad as the feeling of it; I shall therefore think it no trespass on civility to entertain you with a short relation of a storm and tide, wherein these parts of the world saw what no man alive remembers to have seen before, and suffered incomparable damages. It was on February 24th, 1723, when our American philosophers observed an uncommon concurrence of all those causes which an high tide were to be expected from. The moon was then at the change, and both sun and moon together on the meridian. The moon was in her perigee, and the sun was near to his having past it, but a little before. Both the sun and moon were near the Equinoxial, and so fell in with the annual and the diurnal motion of the terraqueous globe. There was a great fall of snow and rain, the temper of the air was cool and moist, and such as contributed unto a mighty descent of vapours. A cloudy atmosphere might also help something to swell and raise the waters. Finally, the wind was high, and blew hard and long, first from the southward, and it threw the southern sea in a vast quantity to the northern shores: Then veering eastwardly it brought the eastern seas also upon them. And then still veering to the northward it brought them all with even more accumulations upon us. They raised the tide unto an height which had never been seen in the memory of man among us. The tide was very high in the night, but on the day following, it being the Lord's day, at noon, it rose two feet higher than ever had been known unto the country, and the city of Boston particularly suffered from it, incredible mischiefs

and losses. It rose two or three feet above the famous long wharf and flowed over the other wharves and streets to so surprising an height that we could sail in boats from the Southern Battery, to the rise of ground in King's-street, and from thence to the rise of the ground ascending towards the north meeting-house. It filled all the cellars and filled the floors of the lower rooms in the houses and ware houses in town. The damage inexpressible in the country. On the inside of Cape Cod, the tide rose four feet, and without, it rose ten or a dozen feet higher than ever was known. At Rhode-Island and Piscataqua they fared as we did in Boston. At Hampton the sea broke over its natural banks for many miles, and continued running over for many hours. Almost all over the country the artificial banks of the sea were broken down. The marshes were overflowed, and overwhelmed; mighty stacks of hay, some removed, some destroyed, many acres of marsh ruined, being either torn up through the rage of the water, or covered with the sands from the road. This is the sum of the story, if there be nothing in it worthy to be remembered than as waters that pass away (or any thing like the memorable November storm that filled the English world with horror, twenty years ago, and whereof a large book was written,) yet it may lead a person of your sagacity to some considerable speculations, and more particularly, though I have mentioned what our small philosophers here may dream for the causes of such occurrences, yet you will also consider how far the subterraneous heat and steams below the bottom of the ocean, rising thence and passing through it, and causing the deep to boil as a pot, may farther contribute unto them. However as for a tempest so for a letter, about one you may think the shorter the better, it shall therefore now be over. I will add no more and you shall be sensible of nothing more but a swelling tide of esteem and affection for you, in the breast of Sir, your hearty friend and servant.

C. M.

September 24th 1724.

Copy of a Letter from the Hon. JOHN WINTHROP, Esq. of New-London, to the Rev. Dr. MATHER, of Boston.

New-London, Sept. 12, 1717.

S I R,

BEING from home the last post day, when your letter arrived here I am now to thank you for it, and to make answer to what you demand of me. The observations I made of the prodigious storms of snow, in the doleful winter past, are many. But I shall mention but two at this time, and they are these. That the snow spangles which fell on the earth, appeared in large sexangular forms. *Seu nivem sex radiatam; et stellas has niveas observavi prout astrologi vulgo aspectum depingunt sextilem**. The other is, that among the small flocks of sheep, that I daily told in this distant part of the wilderness, (for I am a poor shepherd) to secure them from the wild rapacious quadrupeds of the forest; that after the unusual and unheard of snows the aforesaid animals from the upland parts of the country, were in great numbers forced down to the sea side among us, for subsistence, where

they nested, kennelled and burroughed in the thick swamps of these ample pastures, nightly visiting the pens and yards for their necessity, &c. And the ewes big with young, being often terrified and surpris'd, more especially with the foxes, during the deep snows; it had such impression on them, that the biggest part of the lambs they brought forth in the spring, are of Monsieur Reynard's complexion and colour, when their dams were all either white or black. The storm continued so long and severe, that multitudes of all sorts of creatures perished in the snow drifts. We lost at the island and farms, above eleven hundred sheep, besides some cattle and horses, interred in the snow. And it was very strange that twenty-eight days after the storm, the tenants at Fisher's Island, pulling out the ruins of one hundred sheep, out of one snow bank in a valley, (where the snow had drifted over them sixteen feet) found two of them alive in the drift, which had lain on them all that time, and kept themselves alive by eating the wool off the others, that lay dead by them: As soon as they were taken out of the drift they shed their own fleeces, and are now alive, and fat; and I saw them at the island, the last week, and are at your service.

The storm had its effect also on the ocean: The sea was in a mighty ferment, and after it was over, vast heaps of the enclosed shells came ashore, in places where there never had been any of the sort before. Neptune with his trident, also drove in great schools of porpisses, so that the harbour and river seemed to be full of them; but none of these came on shore, but kept a play day among the disturbed waves. As for the golden fleece—the hider and his partner intended to settle in your town, after they had made a few more wreck voyages, and have come back undiscovered like trading men, as I was told by my author. And as for my informer, he was always plotting and contriving how to accomplish your business, without discovering it to any more; but he was so needy that I believe he had never so much money together to carry him down, and keep him there any time for the purpose; and a few weeks before he died, he was proposing to me for a new trial and discovery of the thing. Sir, what I know about it I have truly, faithfully, and ingeniously communicated to you, and hope, by some means or other, you may in time be the better for it. I thank you for your publications, I have mentioned to my honest neighbour Timothy the reprinting them, without mentioning your name in the matter, encouraging him to the work, by the quick vent of so large a number of the first impression.

I have given a dose of your *febrifugium* to one of the town, which I hope, has cured him of a malignant fever, and it is an excellent remedy *ob dolorem lienis*. I am indebted for your mentioning my name inter F. R. S.* at Gresham; I am an obscure person, less than the poorest of your servants, and not fit to stand before princes, but am contented to lie hid among the retired philosophers.

I am &c.

JOHN WINTHROP.

To the Rev. Doctor COTTON MATHER.

* This appointment afterwards took place.

THE first appearance of the Aurora Borealis was very astonishing to our ancestors, both in England and America. It was first seen in England in 1716, and in New-England in 1719: An account of the former was written by the Rev. Thomas Prince who was then in England. An account of the latter was published here by an anonymous author. They are both now newly presented to the public.

Mr. PRINCE's Account of the Northern Lights when first seen in England, 1716.

THERE seemed to be a great stream of smoky Light rising in the N. E. reaching from near the earth, ascending and waving like the light of a great house or bon-fire in a dark evening about half a mile off, which we therefore thought it at first to be: But soon altered our minds when we saw it increasing in breadth, length and brightness, and pushing forwards, retreating and advancing in the shape of a broad sword, and like the shooting vibrations of a very high blaze, until it extended to the point over our heads. As it increased in bigness, so did it likewise in the swiftness and fury of its motion, and grew by degrees into a bluish, red and fiery colour, almost like to that of the flame of brimstone. Both the colour and figure continually changed, I know not how, till at length, on a sudden, it brake forth into the appearance of a raging and mighty torrent of bloody waters, that at first looked like the sudden giving way of a dam, and the sea bearing all irresistibly before it: Whereupon all that part of the heavens over us turned of an inconceivably bright rainbow colour, and immediately run into an admirable, inexpressible confusion of an infinite variety of motions that were amazingly quick and terrible to behold.

I know not how to give you an idea of this part of the appearance; unless you may conceive something of it by the various and most violent motions that are in a great body of waters, when an higher stream happens to descend and impetuously rush into another. Sometimes they ran into circular forms sometimes into ovals, sometimes the circles and ovals were variously compressed on their sides by their approaching nearer to one another, or the greater interflux of the nameless and unknown matter. Sometimes they ran winding within and hastily pursuing one another in the manner of whirlpools, and sometimes they ran round and crossed like an 8, and in numberless other different figures; that something resembled the various, quick and confused Rambles of flies in the midst of a room, or of spiders on the surface of a pond; or the perplexing contortions and turnings of a great heap of living eels just covered with water in the bottom of a boat; or as the little foldings and ridges at the tops and bottoms of the fingers; or to mention no more comparisons, like the figures it is probable you have seen of *Cartesius's vortices*.

All this while, the brightness, bloodiness and fieriness of the colours before-mentioned together with the swiftness of the motions increased in so much as we could hardly trace them with our eyes; till at length

almost all the whole heavens appeared as if they were set on a flame, which wrought and glimmered with flashes in a most dreadful and un-
describable manner. It seemed to threaten us with an immediate de-
scending and deluge of fire, filled the streets with loud and doleful outcries
and lamentations and frightened a great many people into their houses :
And we all began to think whither the Son of God was next to make
his glorious and terrible appearance, or the conflagration of the world
was now begun. For the elements seemed just as if they were melting
with fervent heat, and the ætherial vault to be burning over us like the
fierce agitations of the blaze in a furnace, or at the top of a fiery oven :
and the glimmering light looked as if it proceeded from a more glorious
body behind that was approaching nearer and about to make its sudden
appearance to our eyes

While we expected and wondered what would be the next altera-
tion and dreaded the consequence ; all on a sudden the flaming body
above us brake into innumerable spears of light, that at first darted eve-
ry way and across one another, but in a little while they conformed to
the same point of motion and played in a regular and astonishing man-
ner. At first it seemed as if the very frame of the world was a dissolv-
ing : But afterwards one would have thought that there was a furious
battle of invisable spirits, that the powers and principalities of the air
had broke out into a fierce contention, and that transforming themselves
into angels of light, they were converted into seraphic flames and
figures that are said to resemble their natures.

These distinct and various lights were in the shape of swords, and
their several bodies did not appear intirely at the same time, but seemed
to begin at one end and shoot a prodigious way to a sharp point in
a moment, like one continued blaze of a flying fire-brand. As they
continually appeared and streamed, so they continually vanished like
the luicd path of a rocket, while others were incessantly making their
appearance in different places round about. The motion of them all
was now pointed upwards, and reached some a greater and some a les-
ser extent : But none above more than from about eight or ten degrees
of the horizon to about six or eight from the zenith. For the most part
they flashed unequally : But sometimes they seemed to begin, shoot and
blaze all together and made the earth almost as light as day. And then
their appearance was like a thousand great swords or blazing stars shoot-
ing upwards from all sides of the hemisphere, but leaving where their
points ended a vacant space in the center of about ten or twelve degrees
diameter, and sometimes of a roundish and sometimes of various mul-
tangular figures, directly over our heads. For there seemed to be a re-
markable part of the heavens above us which they all violently pushed
at, but could never enter.

Thus they continued their exercise for about a quarter of an hour,
but decreased by degrees both in number, quickness and brightness till
they left the heavens as they were before, and indeed all the time of
this amazing appearance almost as clear I think as ever I saw them. It
was the more unaccountable and wonderful that there was no palpable

cloud hung over us: But we saw the stars shining very plainly all the while in the intervals of the spears and in the very places where they were, as soon as ever they vanished; unless when the brightness of the apparition was so excessive as to drown their light.

After the scene was over, which was a little before eight o'clock there was every now and then a single flash or streak or two of light as before in divers parts of the clear firmament, and some of these retained their appearance for above the length of a minute, which none of the other did ever reach near unto: But as the light of these was always considerably fainter, so they proportionably continued longer before they intirely vanished.

I then walked with a gentleman out of the town, and went up on a rising ground, whence we saw a thick and lightsome cloud directly in the north, and very near the horizon, if not adjoining to it, that appeared exactly as if the full moon was behind it, which was not to rise till after midnight, and that we supposed to be the source and mine-head of all this surprising train and fire-work of nature. Every now and then we saw beams of light issuing from it, somewhat like, but brighter than those we often see from the sun through the crevices of a dark and broken cloud, that made it to resemble the royal artillery of pikes, spears and swords and other armour that are commonly placed under the kings picture. And as the cloud arose the streams increased and flashed towards us, and we thought the aerial armies were going to rally and make another onset: But they retreated again, as the cloud passed on by the borders of the horizon to the west and slowly moved to a greater distance from us.

By the brightness of the fiery pillars and the strange illumination of the air remaining, I came home a-foot about 10 o'clock, when the ground and heavens were every whit I think as light as immediately after sunset. I sat up and watched, till three in the morning when I could discern nothing more of them: But they continued very visible till between one and two; when the heavens began to be overspread with clouds, and the moon arose, which put a gradual end to this real and most incomprehensible vision.

Thus have I given you a bare, and I am pretty sure an exact historical relation of things as I saw them. I have repeated it to several who were spectators with me, who entirely agree to my description of the manner, appearance and process of this wonderful prodigy. I might easily make a great many philosophical and moral reflections on the things I have written and others I saw: But for several reasons which you see I have not room for, I desire to be excused at present.

A Letter to a certain Gentleman desiring a particular account may be given of a wonderful METEOR, that appeared in New England, on December 11th, 1719, in the evening.

S I R,

I UNDERSTAND by a friend of mine, you desire my thoughts of the late appearance in the heavens, which was amazing to the people in many parts of the country. I will therefore endeavour to answer your desire; and that 1. By giving an account of it according as I observed it, and according to what I can learn from others. And then, by telling you what may in all probability be looked upon to be the natural cause thereof. And I hope (though I believe I shall differ from some) I shall say nothing that shall be inconsistent either with Divinity or Philosophy.

I. For the account of it, &c. take in the following words:

Dec. 11, 1719. This evening, about 8 o'clock, there arose a bright red light in the E.N.E. like the light which arises from an house when on fire (as I am told by several credible persons who saw it when it first arose) which soon spread itself through the heavens from east to west, reaching about 43 or 44 degrees in height, and was unequally broad: it streamed with white flashes or streams of light down to the horizon (as most tell me) very bright and strong. When I first saw it, which was when it had extended itself over the horizon from E. to W. it was brightest in the middle, which was from me N.W. and I could resemble it to nothing but the light of some fire. I could plainly see streams of light redder than ordinary, and there seemed to me to be an undulating motion of the whole light; so thin was this light, as that I could see the stars very plainly through it. Below this stream or glade of light, there lay in the horizon, some thick clouds (which a few hours after, arose and covered the heavens) bright on the tops or edges. It lasted somewhat more than an hour, though the height of its red colour continued but a few minutes. About eleven the same night the same appearance was visible again; but the clouds hindered its being so accurately observed as I could wish for. Its appearance was now somewhat dreadful; sometimes it looked of a flame, sometimes a blood red colour; and the whole N. E. horizon was very light, and looked as though the moon had been near her rising. The dreadfulnefs as well as strangeness of this appearance, made me think of Mr. WATTS's description of the Day of Judgment in English Sapphic.

*When the fierce North Wind with his airy forces
Rears up the Baltick to a foaming fury,
And the red lightning with a storm of hail comes rushing amain
[down, &c.*

And of these lines in Flatman.

*When from the dungeon of the grave
The meagre throng themselves shall heave,
Shake off their linen chains, and gaze
With wonder when the world shall blaze.*

About an hour or two before break of day the next morning, it was seen again, as I am informed; and those who saw it, say it was then the most terrible. I saw it but twice, for the heavens being so overcast, discouraged me from sitting up longer than my usual time.

This Meteor was seen in many places: To those S. from us, it appeared lower in the horizon, and therefore to the more southern places must be wholly invifible. Thus I have given you the best account I am able of this Meteor; which though very unusual here, yet in northern countries more frequent, and seems to me to be what our modern philosophers call *Aurora Borealis*. Now, Sir, as for the next thing which is my thoughts on this Meteor, you shall have them in the following words:

II. It is well known to all (though but a little read in philosophy) that there is abundance of nitro-sulphureous particles exhaled or forced out of the earth continually, but most of all in summer-days; which is the reason why we have thunder more then than in the winter. Now for two or three days before this appearance, we had hot weather for the time of year, and very hot indeed the day immediately preceding, as hot as we commonly have in September, and the air was so warm, as, that I can almost call it sultry hot: Now I believe there was a very great quantity of such particles exhaled or forced out of the earth in this hot weather, and this evening were fired; which because fire in such inflammable matter moves very quick, was the cause of the quick motion of this light from the east to the west, though not contrary to the wind, yet across it; for the wind was then north. You will now ask me how it came to pass, that there were such exhalations more now than at another time. To which I answer, I believe they were occasioned by some subterraneous heat,* that there are subterraneous fires is received by all philosophers, and demonstrable from those igneous eruptions that are in many places; which fires are the causes of dreadful earthquakes which have sometimes occasioned the rise of mountains, and of land even out of the water itself.† And even in watry countries (now ours is a well watered country) there are pits and wells out of which arise such sulphurous steams, as that if you hold a candle over them, they will immediately flame (much of the nature I suppose they are of spirits of wine camphorated) inso much that whole houses have been consumed hereby. [See the late excellent Treatise called, the Religious Philosopher, vol. 2.] And possibly there may be such in our country, which perhaps may occasion the sudden alteration of weather we are so subject to.

* Dr. Wallis ascribes the ascent of vapours to subterraneous heats. *Phil. Trans. Abr.* p. 123.

† See Dr. Hooks's *Discourse of earthquakes*, and Mr. Ray's 3 *Physico-Theo. Discourses*.

To all this I add, that, though in the summer time we have more hot weather, and so more vapours are without doubt exhaled; yet whenever the weather is what we call sultry hot, we commonly have much thunder and lightning, or a good deal of rain; and so the matter which occasions such Meteors, is consumed in thunder and lightning, or is mixed with the particles of water, and so descends to the earth again; and I am confirmed in this opinion, in that (as the Chymists say) from rain water may be distilled a burning spirit.

Now if you ask me, Why this Meteor appeared in the N. E. and so to the N. W.? I answer, The exhalations were driven there by the S. W. winds the day before; and ascending above, even to the upper regions of the air, were not touched by the N. W. winds which blew the day preceding the evening on which this Meteor appeared.

There remains a difficulty or two more yet to be solved, viz. How it came to be fired? And, why it appeared more than once?

To the first, I say, it may be fired by what the philosophers of old called the *Antiperistasis* of the air, i. e. This inflammable matter meeting with something of a contrary nature to it, was by the contest between them put into a flame; for experience shows, that if we take nitre, brimstone and quick lime, mix them, in an egg-shell, as soon as they touch the water they will fly out in an actual flame, and such is the nature of an acid and an alkali, as that the contest between them will heat the plate or vessel in which you endeavour to satiate them, as I have several times experienced; now according to philosophy, where there is heat there is fire. Or if it was not thus, as has been already explained, I do not see why some fiery vapour or other might not be driven out of the earth or sea, and so in its ascent meet with and give fire to this combustible matter.

As to its appearing more than once, the reason is the same as is given for the repetition of the flashes of lightning.

As for the redness of its colour, I take it to be nothing but the more thick or gross particles that might be mixed with this inflammable matter: And as for the white streams of light, they were made by the more fine spirituous particles; and that this is very probable, may be argued from the quickness of their motion, as well as their issuing down to the horizon, opposite to the place from whence the Meteor first arose (as most tell me they did, and I am apt from the nature of the thing to believe it was so.)

And this I shall take to be the true solution of this wonderful appearance, till somebody will give me, or I can find, a better.

As to prognostications from it, I utterly abhor and detest them all, and look upon these to be but the effect of ignorance and fancy; for I have not so learned philosophy or divinity, as to be dismayed at the signs of heaven; this would be to act the part of an heathen not of a christian philosopher. See *Jer. x, 2*. And here I would intreat you to take me right, for I dont mean that this sight was not surprising to me, for I have said it was before, but I only mean that no man should fright himself by supposing that dreadful things will follow; such as

famine, sword or sickness; nor would I be understood to imagine, that there will not be fearful fights in the heavens before the great and terrible day of the Lord.

Thus, good Sir, I have, as well as I could, given you an account of that unusual Meteor, together with my thoughts upon it. If it is acceptable to you, I shall heartily rejoice, and allow you to expose it as you please, only concealing my name; hoping what I have said may serve in some measure to illustrate the works of nature, which all they who have pleasure therein will inquire into, that so they may be excited to love, honour, and adore the God thereof; to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

E Musæo meo 15 Dec.

Anno, 1719.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

An Account of a recent discovery of seven Islands in the south Pacific Ocean, by JOSEPH INGRAHAM, Citizen of Boston, and Commander of the brigantine Hope, of seventy Tons burthen; of, and from the Port, bound to the N. W. Coast of America. By permission of the Owners, copied from the Journal of said Ingraham, and communicated to the Public, by the HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

AFTER passing Cape Horn, on the 26th of January, 1791, Capt. Ingraham saw the islands of St. Ambrose and Felix, on the 9th of March—and on the 14th of April, touched at *Port Madre de Dios* in the island of *Dominica*, one of the cluster called the *Marquesas* lying in lat. $9^{\circ} 58' S$. Having procured such refreshments as the place afforded, he sailed thence, on the 18th of April; and here the extract from his Journal begins.

“*April 19.* [a day ever memorable to Americans.] We steered N. N. W. from the island of *Dominica*, and at 4, P. M. saw two islands under our lee; one bore N. W. by N. from us, and N. N. W. distant 35 leagues from the N. W. end of *Dominica*; the other bore W. by N. from us. This sight was unexpected, as I knew we had seen and passed the group called the *Marquesas*. On this I examined Capt. Cook's chart of the world, his voyages, Quiros's voyage, who was with the Spanish Admiral, that discovered the *Marquesas* in 1595, M. Bougainville's account of circumnavigators and lands discovered by them, and my charts and globes of modern date; but could find no account of but five islands in the group, called *Marquesas de Mendocá*, or any laid down where these islands we then saw were. Of course I had no reason to conclude ourselves the first discoverers.” On which I named the first *WASHINGTON'S island*, in honour to the illustrious President of the United States of America. The other I called *ADAMS*

land after the Vice-President. At 5 o'clock two more islands were seen, one of which was between Washington's and Adams's island; this I called *FEDERAL island*. The other was a small island which bore about S. from Adams's, this I named *LINCOLN's island*, in honour of General Lincoln. The situation of these four islands is as follows :

	Latitude S.	Longitude W. of London.
Washington's	8° 52'	140° 19'
Adams's	9° 20'	140° 54'
Lincoln's	9° 24'	140° 54'
Federal	8° 55'	140° 50'

All four may be seen at once when sailing towards them from the East, stood for Washington's all night. At six the next morning,

April 20. We were abreast of the E. end of it; and by 10 we were under its N. W. side. A canoe in which were three men came towards us; when they were within about 300 yards of us, they laid still a while as it were to view us, frequently calling out *hootah*, which is, *land*, or, *on shore*, in the language of the Sandwich islands, and I judged theirs was the same. After many gestures and signs of friendship, we prevailed on them to come near enough to receive a few cents and nails. They talked to us a great deal but to little purpose, as all we understood was an invitation to go ashore; but as I saw no place proper to anchor in, I bore away more to the W. and they paddled in shore again, giving us a song, as at the Marquesas. These people resembled those we had left, except one young man who had his hair stained white at the ends, as is common at the Sandwich islands. The canoe was curved at each extremity, both being alike and resembling the stern of those at the Marquesas.*

It was my intention to have anchored at this island and taken possession; but I could find no place on its lee side proper for a vessel to anchor, unless in case of great necessity. I therefore called my officers and seamen together, and acquainted them, that I had every reason to believe the island we were then under, and the three seen the night before, were never seen by any civilized nation except ourselves; therefore, I claimed them as a new discovery, and belonging to the United States of America. On which we all gave three cheers and confirmed the name of *WASHINGTON's island*. After this we

* These are thus described in another part of the journal "The bottom of their canoes is dug out of a single log and the sides are sewed on with line made of coco nut fibres. At the head and stern they have a small piece of board fixed perpendicularly, which repels the water and prevents it entering the canoe as she goes ahead. The stern is considerably higher than the head, being a curve terminating in a point. The prow is flat and horizontal, so that the water continually washes over it. The single canoes have outriggers, the double ones are lashed together. Their sails are made of mats in a triangular form; but neither canoes nor sails possess that neatness which marks the superior genius of the Sandwich Islanders."

bore away for another island, which we saw bearing, W. by N. distant 10 leagues.

Washington's island is about ten leagues in circuit; of a moderate height, diversified with hills and vallies, and well wooded; the whole having a vastly pleasant appearance. It is accessible for boats in many places; but, as I before observed, there appeared no good anchorage. As to the number of inhabitants, I cannot say, as we saw only two canoes; the one beforementioned, and one, which by the help of a glass I saw two men launch; but they concealed themselves again and did not venture off to us. Houses we saw none; though no doubt there were concealed, below the trees, as at Port Madre de Dios. Federal island and Adams's island appeared about the same extent and height as Washington's, from what I could judge by the distance we passed them.

At six in the evening we were within two leagues of the island which we discovered and bore away for at noon. It was much higher than Washington's; but appeared about the same extent. The N. E. part is much broken and divided; its summits terminating in ridges and peaks, of a pyramidical form; the whole bearing a *volcanic* appearance. Night approaching, I could not examine this island particularly, although I much wished to have done it. To have remained for no other purpose might perhaps be deemed inconsistent, by the gentlemen of the concern; hence I hawled my wind to the northward. This island I named FRANKLIN'S *island*, in memory of Doctor Benjamin Franklin. I cannot pretend to describe this island, very particularly, for the reasons beforementioned. It appeared however well wooded, and was inhabited; for as soon as we had hawled off, the natives made fires, and it were to entice us to remain.

The latitude of Franklin's island is $8^{\circ} 45'$ S. its longitude $140^{\circ} 45'$ W. Its centre bears W. by N. 10 leagues from Washington's.

From this island we steered N. till six o'clock the next morning April 21, when we saw two more islands bearing W. N. W. distant 8 leagues. We bore down for them. One I named HANCOCK'S *island* in honour to the governor of Massachusetts; the other KNOX'S *island*, after General Knox. I hawled toward Hancock's island; but finding no anchorage, bore away under Knox's. We passed several fine bays, in which was good shelter from the trade wind; but the bottom I judged was bad, from the surrounding rocky shores. One of the bays seemed, as to shelter, convenience of landing, &c. equal to Port Madre de Dios; but its shores indicated a bad bottom. Hence every ship or vessel on such voyages, that sails in unknown seas, and that necessarily obliges to anchor among rocks, would do well to be provided with a chain of 25 or 30 fathom; which would enable them to anchor any where, without the risque of losing their anchor or endangering the ship.

In the best bay abovementioned, which I named BRATTLE'S bay, we saw one house, on the brow of a hill, above a fine grove of coco nut trees; but we saw no person stirring. One house we had passed

more and gazed in vain for inhabitants. Opye† said they were said, as at *Atooi*, when they first saw a vessel. He said they hawled their canoes up and kept close till a few seeing the near approach of the vessel, had courage to venture off, and returned with beads, trinkets, &c. when many, allured by their good fortune, launched to visit the strangers, biased by curiosity and the hope of gain.

From the houses we saw, I am led not to doubt that Knox's island is inhabited. The approach of night prevented any further examination, and I bore away to the westward. The wind came off the land in frequent heavy gusts and squalls, which rendered it dangerous to ply under it all night; besides, under land in tropical climates the wind generally shifts in the night, from the natural trade wind, and blows from the W. which was, as we were situated, directly on shore. To remain under such a risque would therefore have been imprudent.

Knox's island is about 6 or 7 leagues in circuit; it appears fertile and pleasant to the eye, on all sides; but more particularly on the W. and N. W. sides, which are well wooded, and have many fine groves of coco-nut trees. Hancock's island is about 5 leagues in circuit. It appears to have no harbour or place of shelter for ships; but is accessible in many places for boats. It has a good verdure, with both trees and bushes.

Hancock's island lies in lat. $8^{\circ} 3' S.$ Long. $141^{\circ} 14' W.$
Knox's island in $8^{\circ} 5'$ $141^{\circ} 18'$

As to the positions of these seven islands which we have discovered and given names to, I presume they cannot be far from the truth, the island which we saw, late in the afternoon, is most liable to a small mistake, as I had no opportunity to work its distance by angle; being pretty sure of the situation of Washington's and Adams's, the island cannot be missed, as it lies between them; and as I before observed, all may be seen at once, coming from the E.

From what M. Bougainville says,† it is pretty evident these islands were not seen by the Spaniards in 1595, when they discovered the Marquesas. They pretend only to four islands in this group, nor ever any more. Capt. Cook, who visited the Marquesas in 1774, discovered a small round island, which bears about N. N. E. from the end of Dominica, and which he named HOOD's island. This

† A native of one of the Sandwich islands who had been at New-York and Boston, and was returning home in the *HOPE*, after an absence of twenty months. "I was much surprised (says Capt. Ingraham) to find that Opye could not understand the natives of the Marquesas; but still to find he could converse but very indifferently with the people of his own country. Nay, on our first arrival, I could apparently talk better with them than Opye; for he, by blending the American language with his own, formed a kind of jargon unintelligible to every one but himself; but it soon wore off, and his mother tongue became natural."

† Introduction to the English edition by Dr. FORSTER, page 21.

may be plainly seen in running from the E. and steering to Yail between San Pedro and Dominica. Indeed we saw the four, discovered by the Spaniards, all at one view.

As I could not from the most diligent search find the least account of these Islands, I conceive there could be no impropriety or presumption in naming them, and claiming the discovery as my own. Should it be hereafter *proved* that islands in the same situation have been seen before, I renounce my claim with as little ceremony as I assumed it.

It seems from M. Bougainville's account of the several voyages performed round the globe and the discoveries made, that none ever sailed nearer these islands than the Spaniards, who discovered the Marquesas; their next discovery on the same voyage was the island *Sa Bernardo* which is 24° W. from which, I judge they steered S. W. or W. S. W. from Port Madre de Dios. Capt. Cook, in 1774, steered S. W. and the group which I discovered, at least the first four lies N. W. from that port. I shall now take my leave of these islands, leaving it to be determined by future investigation, who first discovered them.

April 22. Course N. Knox's island in sight distant 14 leagues. The variation, by amplitude was $4^{\circ} 30'$ E. Latitude observed at noon $7^{\circ} 34'$ S.

The foregoing account is faithfully extracted from the journal of Capt. Joseph Ingraham, in his own hand writing, by

JEREMY BELKNAP, *Corresponding Secretary*
of the *Historical Society*.

Since the above extract was made, the College Librarian, Mr. HARRIS, has consulted all the *books of maps and voyages* in the library, particularly *Dalrymple's* and *Cook's*, and cannot find any island laid down between the Marquesas and the Equator. Several other maps and voyages have been searched; among which is *HARRISON's new Atlas*, printed in 1791; but nothing appears from any of them to militate with the claim of our citizen, to the first discovery of the *seven islands*; to which the public voice will in justice to him, in future give the denomination of *INGRAHAM'S Islands*.

Extract of a Letter from N. TRACY, Esq. Jan. 21, 1793, to a Member of the Historical Society.

YOU say, in finishing the life of Daniel Gookins, that his family is extinct: This is a mistake, he was my mother's great-grandfather. This Daniel Gookins had a son Daniel, who was ordained minister at Cambridge. He died at twenty-two years of age, but left a son Nathaniel, who was afterwards minister in Hampton, and was my mother's father. He left a son Nathaniel, who was a minister in North-Hill parish (Hampton,) and many other children, two of whom are now living in Portland. A cousin of mine, Capt. Daniel Gookins, served in our army the last war, with a good reputation. And a Captain's commission was given to him, when we were about raising a new army in 1786 or 1787."

Original Orders of Gen. BURGOYNE to Col. BAUM, with a brief description of the battle of Bennington. &c.

THE capture of Baum's detachment in the year 1777, at Bennington, was a memorable event, and led to the total overthrow of the main army under the command of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne. The orders given by that officer to Colonel Baum, serve to exhibit, in a striking point of view, the folly of depending, in a time of general political convulsion, upon the opinion and advice of the few, who by the rights of favoritism, have the ear of the ruling power.

General Lincoln had an honourable, active and important share, in the decisive battle on the heights of Bemis. He had the honour of sharing in the submission of the captured army, who but a few days before considered their march from Canada to New-York, as having no impediments, excepting what should arise from the badness of the roads. That gentleman having deposited in the Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the original orders delivered, and signed by General Burgoyne to Colonel Baum, a copy is given to our readers, in the publication of this month.

INSTRUCTIONS to Lieutenant-Colonel BAUM.

THE object of your expedition is to try the affections of the country, to disconcert the councils of the enemy, to mount the Reid's dragoons, to complete Peters's corps, and to obtain large supplies of cattle, horses, and carriages. The several corps, of which the enclosed is a list, are to be under your command.

"The troops must take no tents, and what little baggage is carried by officers, must be on their own bat horses.

"You are to proceed from Batten Kill, to Aslington, and take post there, till the detachment of provincials under the command of Capt. Sherwood, shall join you from the southward.

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"The troops must take no tents, and what little baggage is carried by officers, must be on their own bat horses.

"You are to proceed from Batten Kill, to Aslington, and take post there, till the detachment of provincials under the command of Capt. Sherwood, shall join you from the southward.

"You are then to proceed to Manchester, where you will again take post, so as to secure the pass of the mountains on the road, from Manchester to Rockingham; from thence you will detach the Indians, and light troops to the northward, towards Otter Creek. On their return, and also receiving intelligence that no enemy is in force upon the Connecticut river, you will proceed by the road over the mountains to Rockingham, where you will take post. This will be the most distant post on the expedition, and must be proceeded upon with caution, and you will have the defile of the mountains behind you, which might make a retreat difficult. You must therefore endeavour to be well informed of the force of the enemy's militia, in the neighbouring country. Should you find it may with prudence be effected, you are to remain there, while the Indians, and light troops are detached up the river, and you are afterwards to descend the river, to Brattlebury, and from that place, by the quickest march, you are to return by the great road to Albany.

"During your whole progress, your detachments are to have orders to bring in to you, all horses fit to mount the dragoons, under your command; to serve as bat horses to the troops, together with as many saddles and bridles as can be found. The number of horses requisite besides those necessary for mounting the regiment of dragoons, ought to be thirteen hundred. If you can bring more for the use of the army, it will be so much the better. Your parties are likewise to bring waggon and other convenient carriages, with as many draft oxen as will be necessary to draw them; and all cattle fit for slaughter (milk cows excepted) which are to be left for the use of the inhabitants. Regular receipts, in the form hereto subjoined, are to be given in all places where any of the abovementioned articles are taken, to such persons as have remained in their habitations, and otherwise complied with the terms of General Burgoyne's Manifesto: But no receipt to be given to such as are known to be acting in the service of the Rebels. As you will have with you persons who are perfectly acquainted with the abilities of the country, it may perhaps be adviseable to tax the several districts, with the portions of the several articles, and limit the hours of delivery; and should you find it necessary to move before the delivery can be made, hostages of the most respectable people should be taken to secure their following you the ensuing day. All possible measures to be used to prevent plundering. As it is probable that Captain Sherwood, who is already detached to the southward, and will join you at Arlington, will drive a considerable quantity of horses and cattle in to you, you will therefore send in this cattle to the army, with a proper detachment from Peters's corps, to cover them, in order to disincumber yourself; but you must always keep the regiment of dragoons compact. The dragoons themselves must ride and take care of the horses of the regiment. Those horses which are destined for the army must be tied together by strings of ten each, in order that one man may lead ten horses. You will give the unarmed men of Peters's corps to conduct them, and inhabitants whom you can trust. You must always take

your camps in good position, but at the same time where there is pasture, and you must have a chain of centinels, around your horses and cattle when grazing. Colonel Skeene will be with you as much as possible, in order to assist you with his advice, to help you to distinguish the good subjects from the bad, to procure you the best intelligence of the enemy, and to choose those people who are to bring me accounts of your progress and success.

"When you find it necessary to halt for a day or two, you must always entrench the camp of the regiment of dragoons, in order never to receive an attack or affront from the enemy.

"As you will return with the regiment of dragoons mounted, you must always have a detachment of Capt. Frazee's or Peters's corps, in front of the column, and the same in the rear, in order to prevent your falling into an ambuscade when you march through the woods.

"You will use all possible means to make the country believe, that the troops under your command are the advanced corps of the army, and that it is intended to pass the Connecticut on the road to Boston.

"You will likewise insinuate that the main army from Albany, is to be joined at Springfield by a corps of troops from Rhode-Island. It is highly probable, that the corps under Mr. Warner, now supposed to be at Manchester, will retreat before you, but should they, contrary to expectation, be able to collect in great force, and post themselves advantageously, it is left to your discretion to attack them or not, always bearing in mind, that your corps is too valuable to let any considerable loss be hazarded on this occasion.

"Should any corps be moved from Mr. Arnold's main army, in order to intercept your retreat, you are to take as strong a post as the country will afford, and send the quickest intelligence to me, and you may depend on my making such a movement as shall put the enemy between two fires, or otherwise effectually sustain you.

"It is imagined that the whole of this expedition may be effected in about a fortnight, but every movement of it must depend upon your success in obtaining such supply of provisions as will enable you to subsist for your return to the army in case you get no more, and should the army be able to reach Albany before your expedition shall be completed, I will find means to give you notice of it, and give your another direction.

"All persons acting in committees, or any officers under the directions of the Congress, either civil or military are to be made prisoners.

"I heartily wish you success, and have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

J. BURGÖYNE, *Lieutenant-General.*"

"*Head Quarters, August 9th, 1777.*"

UNDER these orders Colonel Baum proceeded with all the caution which was inculcated, until he had arrived at Bennington. When he had entered the territory of Vermont, the people were impressed with all the apprehensions, which are experienced by the inhabitants of an invaded country. They beheld from their high lands the unresisting approaches of an apparently invincible army; which seemed to hold their lives at its pleasure, and their property at its disposal. When the detachment arrived at Bennington, the place where they were destined to be offered on the altar of Liberty, they met with very little resistance. The supplies which they gathered were not very flattering, and the aids given them by the inhabitants were very far from being encouraging. They were alike deceived by friends and enemies, by the deceptions, equally leading to their ruin, issued from very different motives in each party.

General Schuyler was on the Hudson with the American army, waiting the slow approaches of the main British army, under the command of General Burgoyne, while his numbers would by no means admit of his sending a detachment to oppose the ravages of Baum's party. But the people in New-Hampshire, appeared to be at once inspired by that spirit of intrepid resolution, which flows from a sense of duty, and the feelings of freemen, whose rights are invaded. The command of this body was given to Brigadier-General Stark, in whose skill and courage they had full confidence.

This body was disconnected with the army under General Schuyler, and his opinion of them is well expressed in *his letter to Congress*, which procured an order for their dispersing themselves: But before these orders had arrived, Stark and his fellow volunteers had rendered themselves dear to their country, by turning the fate of a desperate contest in favour of liberty. As the happy event of this attempt, is well known, we will step aside and sketch a brief character, of this hero, whose unshaken firmness, successful skill, and personal bravery did so much to ensure it.

John Stark had an early opportunity to turn his attention to the calls of war. He was born in that part of New-Hampshire, which was subjected to the invasions of the Savages.[†] The first impressions received on his mind, were those of alarm, and the necessity of a like defence. In the year 1752, when he was a boy, he was taken captive by the Indians, adopted as one of their children, and remained for some time with them.

In the wars, which happened before the reduction of Quebec, distinguished himself as a brave intrepid partisan. Roused by the sound of public danger, he led a regiment of his fellow citizens to the field of Cambridge, in the year 1775. When General Howe landed on the north side of Charles-river, to attack the American force, Colonel Stark placed his regiment on the left of the American army, in doubt, and received the enemy with his usual coolness and address.

[†] He was born in Londonderry and was used to hunting in his youth.

Twice they gave way to *his* well directed musquetry, and finally marched *up the river*, and gained the eminence contended for, by a rout where they did not meet with so forcible an opposition. He was useful in the American army after this period, and was present at the battle of Trenton, in the year 1776, when the Hessians were captured by General Washington.

By some new arrangements in the American army, Colonel Stark found it convenient to retire. He was a man of great plainness of manners, and severity of conversation. Having retired to his place in Derryfield; like Cincinnatus he tilled his ground, until the alarm of Burgoyne's approach, urged him to lay by the plow-share, and the pruning-hook, and once more to take up the sword, and the spear. How widely different is the character of the man, who girds on his armour, to relieve the distresses of his country, to save innocent citizens from the ravages of an insulting enemy, from that of the man, who thirsting for conquest, and sanguinary glory, leads on his banditti, to rapine and plunder.

When Colonel Stark had arrived at the State of Vermont, his character at once collected the scattered militia, and inspired the people with confidence. His dispositions were prudent and cautious; while wisdom and firmness, dictated the necessary, and effective measures.

The enemy had to pass a defile between two mountains, while the American leader threw up a breast work at the southern extreme of it; he marched two bodies round to cut off their retreat. Baum marched with his usual confidence. He was insured of success by the orders he possessed, and the weight and prowess of Reidesel's dragoons and Peters's corps. He found from the noise of two small cannon, which was all the train of artillery belonging to the troops who opposed him, that he had something unexpectedly serious in his front. The pride militane, and the obedience which Germans always pay to their orders, prompted him to advance. The violent assault of Reidesel's dragoons, was soon repelled, nor did the weight and courage of Peters's corps prove efficient. The last claim of an invading enemy is a retreat, but this was denied him; and having his troops disarmed and made prisoners, was his apology for not obeying the orders of his General.

The bat horses were useful in bringing the sick officers to the place of their confinement, where they obtained in a peaceable manner the forage and provision, which they had been disappointed of, whilst they were attempting to obtain them by force.

One drum of Peters's corps and one complete suit of arms of Reidesel's dragoons, were the trophies presented by General Stark to the State of Massachusetts; and they are now kept in the Senate Chamber.

Mankind are in the pursuit after happiness, and in the chace they multiply the miseries, and increase the misfortunes of each other. He who desolates an unoffending country, to gain laurels, ought to be hated and despised by the human race. But the true joy, and well grounded satisfaction of Stark and his volunteer band, can be much better conceived than expressed. As he returned to his own soil, to lay

by the weapons of war, and to assume those of husbandry ; he saw his scattered fellow citizens also returning to the mansions from whence danger had expelled them. The sweet voice of security was inviting them home, the harvest stood in smiles to welcome their sickles, and kindred hearts were no longer torn by a dreadful anxiety for friends dispersed to unknown borders.

A Letter from the Rev. JOHN HUBBARD, giving an Account of the Town of NORTHFIELD.

Northfield, Sept. 1, 1792.

IN the year 1672 the Township was granted to Messrs. Pinchion, Peirsons and their associates, the Indian name, *Squaivkeague*, laid out on both sides of Connecticut river, six miles in breadth and twelve in length.

In the year 1673 settlers came on, planted down near one to the other, built small huts, covered them with thatch, near their centre made one for public worship, and employed one Elder Janes as their preacher ; also ran a stockade and fort around a number of what they called, houses, to which they might repair, in case they were attacked by the enemy. These first settlers were a set of religious congregational people, emigrated from Northampton, Hadley, Hatfield, &c.

Probably in about five or six years, an Indian war broke out, a large army came suddenly upon them, killed some in their houses, others as they were coming out of the meadows ; the rest of this distressed people, men, women and children, fled to their fort, unable to sally out and repel the enemy, in the utmost distress and no present relief could be afforded them. The Indians in the mean time kept around them, killed their cattle, destroyed their grain, burnt up the houses that were without the fort and laid all waste ; the dead bodies of their neighbours were unburied. The people full of fear, lest the Indians would break into their fort. A number of days and nights were they in this distressed condition. In the mean time one of their brave men got out of the fort in the night, and ran to Hadley near thirty miles.

A certain Captain Bean, with his company, and a number of teams were ordered to go and bring off the distressed people. But when they had got within two miles of the settlement, were way-laid, killed, and almost all the company and the teams ; the few that survived this bloody carnage, fled back to Hadley, then Captain Treat with a larger body of men, and more teams were ordered out, and fetched off the distressed inhabitants.

Thus long did these poor people continue in fear and jeopardy every hour. At length they arrived to the place abovementioned. The Indians soon returned and destroyed their fort and every thing that remained. All was now desolate and waste, and continued so for about five or six years—the war ending.

In 1685, settlers came on again, continued ten or twelve years, built mills, and some convenient houses and carried on their husbandry to a

good degree and introduced mechanics, the settlement flourished, however had not arrived to such ability as to settle a minister though they began to hire some preaching. But alas! Another Indian war breaking out, the people were drove within their forts, which they had erected. Government afforded them some protection, notwithstanding, the Indians pressed hard upon them, killed some and took others captive, and the hearts of the rest of the people were dismayed and discouraged, and in council, determined it was best to return to the lower towns, this they did, late in the Fall or beginning of Winter, when the Indians had withdrawn. The next Spring, the Indians came on, burnt up a second time, laid the settlement waste: This brings us to the year 1700 or more, a little before Deerfield was destroyed.

In the year 1713 the proprietors petitioned the General Court to grant them a committee, to ascertain and fix the boundaries of their home lots, meadow lots, &c. The committee were, the Hon. John Stoddard of Northampton, Eleazer Porter of Hadley, Henry Dwight of Hatfield, Esqrs. Settlers came on very much together, rebuilt their mills, houses, and soon proceeded to set up a house for public worship, and were now incorporated into a town by the name of Northfield, as it was the northernmost town in the county of Hampshire and colony of the Massachusetts, on Connecticut river.

About the year 1718—were gathered into a distinct church, invited and settled Mr. Benjamin Doolittle, of Wallingford, in Connecticut, who continued in the ministry about thirty years, died 1748, aged fifty-four years: He began with the people in their third settlement, when not more than thirty-five families; lived to see them increase almost to a hundred, and to a good degree of opulence and wealth, though oft worried with distressing wars, it being very much a frontier.

It was in Mr. Doolittle's day that the Province line was ran, between New-Hampshire and Massachusetts, which cut off one third part or more, and is now Hinsdale.

In the year 1750, the people invited and settled Mr. John Hubbard, of Hatfield, who has continued in the ministry more than forty years. We are not more than a hundred and twenty families at this present time.

The air is salubrious, and the soil tolerably fertile. No Indians, nor any of their monuments. Northfield is southward of the centre of the settlements on Connecticut river. The people are all furnished with bibles and other good books, in their houses, but no social library; there has been much talk about setting up one, I hope it may be effected. Generally a grammar and other good schools in town, people are well spirited towards the instruction of their children, though never sent forth many scholars into the world.

The most of the people pursue husbandry; it is an excellent township for raising of wheat and other kinds of grain. It has a sufficient number of tradesmen of all sorts. Commerce has flourished, and is now again reviving. It has a number of good buildings, an elegant house for the worship of God: Of late a curious still-house set up, for

the making of gin; but this, I fear, will be of no public utility. That which above all the rest comfortable and praiseworthy is, that as people, we are to appearance, pretty well united in faith, worship, and christian discipline; no sectaries.

If this historical account will be any way useful to you, it will give satisfaction to

Your humble servant,

JOHN HUBBARD.

Letter from JOHN COLMAN Esq. in London to his brother the Rev. Dr. COLMAN of Boston, giving an account of the hearing before the Lords of the Privy Council on the complaint of Gov. SHUTE against the House of Representatives of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

London, May 18th, 1724.

DEAR SIR,

MY last went by Mr. John Allin, since which the King's Attorney and Solicitor-General have once heard Mr. Cook in answer to the memorial. They sat between three and four hours, and are gone through three articles; the first was the matter of the woods, but when the charge was heard, I observed Mr. Cook did not pretend to say, as he used to do in New England, that the King had no right, but said that what the King had done was in order to secure the King's right; but Mr. Cook was foiled by Sir Lawrance Carter, who was council for the Governor, and by Mr. Bendish, by producing the vote of the Assembly, which said that those logs being cut into lengths which rendered them unfit for his Majesty's use—the King had no right to them and accordingly they ordered them to be sold for the use of the Province and it was further argued that they were actually sold to Mr. Plafseed of Piscataqua: Mr. Cook had two eminent counsellors, Mr. Reaves and Mr. Talbot, and two others, all bright gentlemen, who said as much as could be said in defence of the country, and managed the matter extremely well, but with the greatest modesty, it being a tender point in which the prerogative was pretended to be invaded: The Attorney-General and Solicitor-General seem to me, to be but young men, to be advanced to such high stations, but if they are young in years, they are old in knowledge, and I saw, soon discerned where the matter pinched and though they said but little, yet said enough to satisfy me, that their report will be on the side of the Governor. The next article was, negating the Speaker; it was argued by Mr. Talbot and in behalf of the country that they had not denied the Governor's right at that point, and endeavoured to prove it, by saying they chose another but the Governor answered it was another Assembly that chose Dr. Clark, and that the Assembly who chose Mr. Cook, sat five days, and would not choose another, and then he dissolved them; and further to prove that the General Assembly approved and justified what was done he produced the message the General Assembly sent him, when he had

ent down his approbation of Dr. Clark, viz. that they did not send
the message whom they had chose for his approbation, but for his
information; when that was read, I observed Mr. Cook's counsel
looked down, the Attorney and Solicitor Coloured and one gentleman,
remember called it a saucy answer. I confess, though I always condemn-
ed the Assembly for choosing Dr. Cook, because they could not but
foresee it would be laying a bone of contention in the way between
the Governour and Assembly, yet when they had chose him, I always
justified their standing by that choice, for if it be in the power of a
Governour to negative one speaker, he may proceed in the same method
in infinitum, and so in effect say, we shall have no Assembly, and over-
turn the constitution at once; this will go (I believe) also in favour of
the Governour, for I find they are very tender of the prerogative: the
third article, was the ordering of the solemnising a fast, a great deal
of talk there was on this head, and many minutes produced to prove
the Assembly had moved in that matter formerly, but Sir Lawrance al-
leged, that the prerogative was invaded in that point notoriously; for
when the Governour disputed the matter with the Assembly, they told
him, as appeared by their votes, that unless that House appointed it, as
well as the Governour and upper House, the people were not punish-
able by law if they broke in upon the day by travelling, working, &c.
thus far they are gone, and are adjourned to Friday, the 29th inst.

I could not forbear reflecting on the state of my country; that they
do not know their own happiness: They may, if they please, be the
quietest, happiest people under the sun; but they will destroy them-
selves. I suppose by this time there is a ship load of tar gone, and next
comes a load of turpentine, and then another of pitch, and so on. I hear
the Governour saith, he will try who shall be Governour, he or Mr. Cook,
and that he will see New England again, let it cost what it will: Nay,
a gentleman here told me, he heard him swear it, which he wondered
for he never had heard him swear an oath before in his life. He saith,
now he sees his honour is concerned, he will not be out done by Mr.
Cook.

My Lord Barrington came in, in the midst of the debates: As it hap-
pened, the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General sat facing the door,
stood just behind, between their chairs; the Attorney and Solicitor
saw him as soon as his head appeared, rose up immediately, which sur-
prised me, not knowing my Lord, to see the whole court rise up and
show such great respect: The Attorney motioned to my Lord to come
to the table, where an elbow chair was in an instant brought, and he sat
down in it, the only easy chair which was in the room: I mention this
only to shew the difference Dr. Cook finds; it would (thought I at
that time) better suit the Doctor's high spirit to be treated with the re-
spect my Lord was, than to stand behind his counsellors, making a lame
reference to the articles exhibited against his country, through his means.
Since the hearing, I happened to have some little talk with Dr.
Cook upon the Exchange, and find he and I differ very much in our
thoughts about matters; he thinks all will be well on the country's
part.

fide, and I suppose will write accordingly ; but I find nobody else of his opinion : He said one thing to me which pleased me, viz. that since his coming here, and seeing how the government, who are more immediately under the crown are used, he hath a greater value for our charter privileges than ever he had ; to which I answered, that I thought our neighbours at New York, alone were enough to convince us of the worth of our charter, and that I was of opinion, rather than lose it, they could not buy it at too dear a rate.

Mr. Sanderfon did not appear, with his brother Agent : I inquired the meaning of it, and was answered, that the Lords of Trade bid him choose which he would be, viz. their Clerk, or New England's Agent for both he should not be. The under secretary to their Lordships was there, but none of their clerks. I remember, I have heard Sanderfon called Secretary to the Board of Trade (in New England) but I see he is not so much as under secretary, only one of the clerks. Mr. Hollis, Heal, Harris, and others, New England's friends, say, that finally, if the charter be saved, it must be by the country's sending over messengers to the King, to solicit therefor in another manner ; and when the country comes to be in temper, and see their own interest, these gentlemen say they will take such healing measures : But Doctor Cook thinks there is no danger of the charter. I will endeavour to be present at next hearing, and then shall write you what passes.

I am now, through the favour of heaven, at the fifth day of June, and can inform you, that yesterday, Dr. Cook was heard a second time in answer to the memorial, it was five in the afternoon, before the Solicitor came, and then the hearing began. But they went through but one article, viz. About the adjournment of the Assembly, to Cambridge and a Mr. Talbot who was Counsel for the Province, said what he could in justification of the Assembly, though I think all he said was very little to the purpose. But what shall we say, be a man, thoughts never so ingenious and bright, he cannot with all his rhetoric, make black white, a bad cause will admit, but of a poor defence and so, Sir Lawrance Carter and another gentleman, who was of counsel for the Governour, hinted, and said, that Mr. Talbot, they humbly conceived, had said nothing to the purpose : But, indeed, Mr. Dummer told me, he heard Mr. Talbot tell Dr. Cook, just before the hearing began, that the Assembly had infringed on the prerogative in the matter, but he would make the best he could of it : In short, I am full of opinion, that the Governour will make good every article of the memorial, the further hearing is to be the 11th inst. when, I hope, I shall hear the arguments on the remaining articles : Were I in Dr. Cook's place, it would fret me to see myself so out done by a man, I had called many fools and blockheads, as he hath called the Governour ; I believe by this time, he may begin to see with other eyes : The Governour desired me to give his service to you, and tell you, he had nothing to write, worth communicating to you at present, when he had you should hear from him : He at all times, expresses a great concern, for the good people of New England ; but saith, he is driven to what he doth

and fears the perverse spirit of some among you, will put it out of the power of him, or any body else, to serve you; and it is the opinion of all thinking men I talk with, that unless the country take more healing measures, and very speedily too, the country will lose all their privileges.

The Quaker's complaint hath been heard, and the persons who were imprisoned, are ordered to be set at liberty; I hear, that at the hearing, the Attorney-General reflected on the country, very sharply, and said, that was not the only instance in which they had assumed to themselves unwarrantable powers. I am really concerned, when I think seriously on these things, (having children, who must in all likelihood, spend their days there) that through the illnature and stubbornness, of a few men, the country will lose so many valuable privileges, as no people else, under the British Crown enjoy.

My service to Mr. Belcher, Mr. Cooper, and others, who may talk after me, especially to all relatives.

I am yours, &c.

JOHN COLMAN.

THOUGH the death of King CHARLES I. be not properly a part of the American history; yet as some persons who were concerned in that event took refuge in this country, and by the humanity of our forefathers were sheltered from the impolitic and malicious prosecution of CHARLES II. it becomes the duty of American Historians to collect and preserve every circumstance which may elucidate their characters.

One of our ablest advocates for civil and religious liberty [Dr. Mayhew] in a discourse professedly written against "the faintship and martyrdom of King CHARLES" has said that "it was not properly speaking the parliament, but the army which put him to death; and it ought to be freely acknowledged, that most of their proceedings to get this matter effected, and particularly the Court by which the King was at last tried and condemned, was little better than a mere mockery of justice."

The Regicides who fled to New England were *Whalley, Goffe and Dixwell*. Of these, the last lies buried, in New-Haven under a stone inscribed J. D. Esq. and some of his posterity are now living in Boston. A proposal has lately been made* to erect a monument on that ground in New-Haven, to the memory of these men. Before any determination is made in a matter of this kind, it is proper that the subject should be considered in every point of view; and that all which can throw any light on their characters and conduct should be produced. For this reason the following paper lately handed in to the Historical Society, bearing every mark of authenticity is given to the public,

* See the *American Museum*, for November, 1792.

A True and Humble Representation of JOHN DOWNES, Esq. touching the death of the late King, so far as he may be concerned therein.

FINDING myself involved by several votes and orders of this present Parliament, and also in the execution of the same, with those who plotted and designed the late King's death, and with others who were his judges; I think myself bound, in duty and thankfulness unto God, and by all obligations to myself, family, posterity, and relations to set forth a true narrative of all things concerning myself, and all my actions in that sad business; and I shall not make lies a refuge because I have hope in the God of truth.

During that long time of fourteen years, I served in the last Parliament, I was never of any juncto or cabal, indeed I did ever professionally decline it; I never knew of any business, (except perhaps by hearsay) relating to those sad distractions, between the King and Parliament until they came to be opened in the House; I never knew of the intention of bringing the King to Westminster, till he was brought; much less did I know, that the end of his bringing was to take away his life. I never knew of that intention, except what my own fears might suggest unto me, until the Bill was brought into the House to erect a High Court of Justice (as it was called) for his trial; and therefore I was much perplexed and astonished when it was read. When the Bill was committed, I was not of the Committee, though it was numerous, nor was I ever at that Committee, though it sat very publicly in the Speaker's lodgings: When the Committee had order to bring in names for Judges, my name was not put in till after the amendments were reported, and upon a second commitment; and then upon an unhappy occasion, passing through the Speaker's chambers, when the Committee was not sitting, I saw two or three Members, whose names I well remember, were in consultation at the table, and as I passed by them one of them said, this gentleman's name is not inserted, and called me, and said, Sir, you must make one in this great business; I flatly gave my denial, and said, I could not serve them in it; it was repeated, that with my good favour, I must take my share: After the Bill was passed, and the Judges summoned to meet in the Painted Chamber by express order of the House, all were enjoined to attend: And thus, through weakness and fear, I was ensnared.

I shall forbear to mention many passages betwixt myself and other members, at several times when I met with them, because I fear to be over tedious, though they would much make for my clearing; and therefore I do now humbly come to relate my own demeanour the last day the King appeared at the Court.

When the Court was set, and the King brought, the President told him, that he had been charged with treason, perjury, murder, and other high crimes, committed against the people of this nation, and that he had refused to give an answer to the charge, demurring to the jurisdiction of the Court; that he had been told, the Court was satisfied of the King's own jurisdiction, and that he was not to be the Judge of it; and that

he had had several days given him for consideration ; and that this was the last day the Court would demand of him, whether he would answer to the charge or not ; if not, the Court would take the whole charge, *Pro Confesso*, and would proceed to judgment ; or words to this effect. The King, with such undaunted composedness and wisdom, as I never beheld in man, made answer to this effect : That he could not acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Court, he acknowledged they had power enough indeed, but where is your authority ? Yet, said he, because I see you are ready to give a sentence, and that such a sentence may sooner be repented of, than revoked ; and that the peace of the nation may so much depend upon it, I think fit to let you know, that I desire to speak with my Parliament, for I have something to offer unto them, which will be satisfactory to you all, and will be for the present settlement of the nation. The President regarded not these gracious expressions, but told him, he could take no notice of any thing, he said, I have only to demand once again, whether he would answer to his charge or not.

Then the King, not in passion, but with the greatest earnestness of affection, desired the Court, that they would once more consider of it ; for said he, you may live to repent of such a sentence ; and therefore desired they would withdraw but for half an hour ; or, said he, if that be too much trouble for you, I will withdraw, and passionately moved his body.

The President was not affected with all this, but commanded the clerk to read the sentence ; God knows I lie not, my heart was ready to burst within me ; and as it fell out, sitting on the seat next to Cromwel, he perceived some discomposure in me, and turned to me and said, what ails thee, art thou mad, canst thou not sit still, and be quiet ? I answered, quiet ? No, Sir, I cannot be quiet ; and then I presently stood up, and with an audible voice, said, My Lord President, I am not satisfied to give my consent to this sentence, but have reasons to offer to you against it ; and therefore I desire the Court may adjourn to hear me. Then the President stood up and said, nay, if any member of the Court be unsatisfied, then the Court must adjourn, and accordingly did adjourn into the inner Court of Wards.

When the Court was set there, all but members, and some officers being turned out, I was called by Cromwel to give an account, why I had put this trouble and disturbance upon the Court ? I answered, and so near as possibly I can, after so great an elapse of time, I will set down my very syllabical expressions : My Lord President, I should have been very glad, that his Majesty would have condescended to these expressions long before this time ; I say, I should have been glad of it, both for his own sake and for ours ; but, Sir, to me they are not too late, but welcome now, for, Sir, God knows I desire not the King's death, but his life ; all that I thirst after, is the settlement of the nation in peace : His Majesty now doth offer it, and in order to desires to speak with his Parliament ; should you give sentence of

death upon him, before you have acquainted the Parliament with his offers, in my humble opinion, your case will be much altered, and you will do the greatest action upon the greatest disadvantage imaginable, and I know not how ever you will be able to answer it.

Cromwel in some scornful wrath stood up and answered me, so near as I can remember in these words, My Lord President, you see what weighty reasons this gentleman hath produced, that should move him to put this trouble upon you; surely this gentleman doth not know, he hath to deal with the hardest hearted man upon the earth, however, Sir, it is not the single opinion of one peevish tenacious man, that must sway the Court, or deter them from their duty in so great a business; and I wish his conscience doth not tell him, what ever he pretends of dissatisfaction, that he only would save his *old master*; therefore, Sir, I pray you lose no more time, but return to the Court and do your duty.

Not one soul would second me nor speak one word, yet I knew divers by name; Sir John Bourcher, Mr. DIXWELL, Mr. Love, Mr. Waite, and some others were *much unsatisfied, yet durst not speak*; but on the contrary divers members took their turns with me in private discourse; Cromwel himself whispered me in the ear, and said, by this and Mr. Fries business he was satisfied, I aimed at nothing but making a mutiny in the army, and cutting of throats; another told me the generations to come would have cause to curse my actions; and another, which sunk deepest of all, told me, that if I were in my wits I would never have done this, seeing I was before, as indeed I was acquainted, that the King to save his life, would make these offers, but *it would be as much as my life were worth to make any disturbance*; and besides, said he, it is not in the power of man, nor of this Parliament to save his life, for *the whole army are resolved, that if there be but any check or demur in giving judgment, they will immediately fall upon him and hew him to pieces, and the House itself will not be out of danger*.

To those whose height would permit me to speak and make replies I told them, to me it was evident, the Parliament expected some such offers from the King, why else did they make that order, that upon any emergency which could not be thought of, that the Court should immediately acquaint the House therewith: And there was such an order entered and to be seen in the books, if he,* who in appearance ordered all matters, hath not *torn that order out, as I have heard he hath done all the rest of the proceedings*; and inferred, what greater emergencies could be, than that the King demurred to the jurisdiction of the Court, and yet desired to speak with the Parliament, and offered to do that which would be satisfaction to all, especially seeing, as was pretended that his denying to do such things, was the ground which forced such a proceeding with him. And so without any more

debate they returned to the Court, and I left them, and went into the Speaker's chamber, and there with tears eased my heart. The effect and substance of this narration is true, and so near as I can remember the very words and circumstances, and it was so notorious and public, that I hope God will stir up some worthy persons, though I have been careless not doing the same in design to attest the truth of the chief parts hereof; but for any thing else relating to that business, I utterly deny and protest against it, nor did I ever give them one meeting more, but wholly from that time deserted them, though I was often summoned to meet them in the Painted Chamber; and I hope persons of so great wisdom and goodness, will suffer compassions to rise within them, and will look back unto those times wherein it was criminal for a man but to whisper a word of respect to his Majesty; and my very subsistence was by an office upon which I had laid out almost my whole estate; and as this relation shews I am but a weak imprudent man, yet I did what I could, I did my best, I could do no more; I was single, I was alone, only I ought not to have been there at all; I acknowledge myself to have highly offended and need pardon, and do humbly and professedly lay hold on his sacred Majesty's gracious pardon; and humbly implore the high and honourable Parliaments pardon also. I did not only forbear, but abhorred to buy one penny-worth of the King's goods, or one foot of his lands, though it is known I had as much or more opportunity than any other man, and perhaps more temptations to have allured me than most other men had; I have neither taken advantage nor grown rich, nor have had remuneration or allowances for any Parliamentary services or employments, as many others had, though it is well known what burthens have been laid upon me: The truth of this will be found, when books and treasures shall be searched into; I may truly say, I have wore out myself, lost my office, robbed my relations, and now am ruined; and my estate when searched into, will not be found as perhaps may be supposed; I have a poor wife big with child, and eight children besides, and most of them very small, who already are forced to live upon charity, all my estate being seized on; I was the only member in the House that was prevailed with, to deliver Mr. Loves wife's petition for saving of his life, and so managed it, that the House divided upon the question, and lost it but by three voices, and I did not a little contribute to the saving of the lives of Mr. Jackson, and Mr. Jenkins, Ministers, who were in Mr. Love's condition; I have not been cruel to any, and I hope God will incline the hearts of his sacred Majesty, and the High Court of Parliament, to be merciful to me and mine.

*Letter from King Philip to Governour Prince.**A Letter from King PHILIP to Governour PRINCE.**Copied from the original, which belongs to Mr. White of Plymouth; the words are spelt as in the original letter.*

KING Philip desire to let you understand that he could not come to the Court, for Tom, his interpreter has a pain in his back, that he could not travel so far, and Philip's sister is very sick.

Philip would intreat that favor of you, and any of the magistrates, if any English or Indians speak about any land, he pray you to give them no answer at all. This last summer he made that promise with you that he would not sell no land in 7 years time, for that he would have no English trouble him before that time, he has not forgot that you promise him.

He will come as soon as possible he can to speak with you, and so rest, your very loving friend, Philip dwelling at Mount Hope Neck.

To the much honored

Governor, Mr. Thomas Prince,
dwelling at Plimoth.

[There is no date to the letter, it was probably written about 1660 or 70.]

AN HISTORICAL JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN WAR.

The following Journal contains a brief detail of the principal events which occasioned the Revolution in America, and which took place during the War, which ended in its Independence. The facts were collected by a gentleman of information and judgment, and it is hoped that our readers will derive pleasure and improvement from its perusal.

INTRODUCTION.

AFTER the peace of 1763 had taken place, between England and France, the councils of Mr. Pitt (afterwards Earl of Chatham) being rejected; Lord Bute and his coadjutor were introduced into the British Administration, under the auspices of King George the third. A new system of Colonial Government, was contemplated, and a plan for raising a revenue in America, was brought forward, by George Grenville, (commonly called Lord George Grenville) then at the head of the British Finances. It was reported to Parliament, and had their approbation, and an Act was passed for this purpose, in 1765, called the "Stamp Act," by which no instruments were valid in law, unless written on stamped papers, on which a duty was laid. It received the royal assent, and was sent over to the Colonies to be put in execution by stamp officers appointed in each Colony.

The Colonists disallowed the right of Parliament to impose taxes upon them without their consent, and while they continued unrepresented in Parliament; taxation and representation in their view being inseparably connected in the British Constitution.

To enforce the operation of their unconstitutional Acts, Parliament, ordered a naval and military force to rendezvous at Boston, in Massachusetts Bay. General Gage, who had succeeded to the government of it, detached some of the troops into the country to seize provincial stores. This detachment commenced hostilities at Lexington, in that province, which afterwards spread through the United Colonies; and ended in the dismemberment of thirteen of them from the Crown of Great Britain.

N. B. A PARTICULAR narration of the public transactions at the rise of the troubles in America, and the commencement of hostilities in the (then province now) *Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, is contained in a manuscript entitled "Memoirs of the revolution of Massachusetts Bay," in a series of letters which, on suitable encouragement, will probably be published in a separate volume. The occurrences, therefore, in the *Massachusetts* are only noted at their respective dates in the following Journal. And a *detail* is here given of the principal events in the other States of the Union.

AN HISTORICAL JOURNAL

OF THE

AMERICAN WAR.

By Mr Thomas Pemberton.

THE *first* public opposition to acts of Parliament in Boston was on this day.

1765.

Aug. 14.

In the morning some pageantry was discovered to be suspended on liberty tree (so called) at the south part of the town. A promiscuous multitude assembled at the close of the day, cut down the pageantry, and carried it through the streets of the town; demolished a small edifice, and damaged the gardens of Andrew Oliver, Esq. (then Secretary of the Province) who had accepted the office of a Stamp Master. The effigies were then consumed in a bonfire on Fort Hill.

1766.

March 18.

This day Parliament repeal the Stamp Act and pass the Declaratory Act in which they assert "*They have a right to bind the Colonies in all cases whatsoever.*" The despotism discovered in this act alarmed all the Colonies, who afterwards united for their common defence.

1767.

Parliament passed an act imposing a duty to be paid by the Colonists, on paper, glass, painters' colours and teas imported into the Colonies.

Novem.

William Burch and Henry Hulton, Esqrs. two of the five Commissioners of the Customs, arrived at Boston. They are appointed to reside in the capital of Massachusetts Bay to receive and distribute the Revenue.

1768.

Feb. 11.

The Massachusetts *Circular Letter* to the sister Colonies, stating their grievances, and requesting them to harmonize with them in decent and probable measures to obtain redress, which gave umbrage to the British administration, bears this date.

The *first* seizure made by the Commissioners of the Customs was in Boston; being a wine vessel belonging to John Hancock, Esq. then an eminent merchant in the town. The circumstances that attended this seizure occasioned much commotion and disorder for a short time.

June 10.

Governour Bernard dissolved the Massachusetts General Court, being the punishment *Lord Hillsborough* instructed him to inflict, if they would not rescind the Circular Letter.

August 4.

The Boston merchants agree not to import any more British goods till the Revenue Act is repealed.

August.

1768.
 Sept. 22. This day met at Boston, a convention of delegates from the various towns in the Massachusetts Bay, to deliberate on constitutional measures to obtain relief from their grievances.
- Sept. 28. Arrived at Boston, from Halifax, the 14th and 29th, and part of the 59th British regiments, escorted by seven armed vessels, designed, *at least*, to awe the provincials into a compliance with acts of Parliament, however unconstitutional they might be. ~~These troops were quartered in the town of Boston, contrary to the remonstrances of the council, and the wishes of the citizens.~~
- Nov. 10. Arrived at Boston, from Ireland, part of the 64th and 68th regiments, under the Colonels Mackey and Pomeroy.
1769.
 May. The House of Lords, having in their resolves censured the proceedings of Boston, the Town forwarded a petition to the King in their vindication.
 Massachusetts *New Assembly* met in Boston, by precept from Gov. Bernard, *ten months* after he had dissolved the Old Assembly; it being the annual election day agreeably to their charter.
- August 1. Sir Francis Bernard is recalled, and leaves his government of Massachusetts Bay, to the administration of Lieutenant Governour Hutchinson.
1770.
 March 5. The time limited by the Boston merchants, for non-importation, having expired; they renew and extend their non-importation agreement, till the Revenue Acts are repealed.
 On the evening of this *memorable day*, the massacre in Boston was perpetrated in King-street by a party of the 29th regiment, then under the orders of Captain Thomas Preston; five of the inhabitants were killed outright and mortally wounded—three or four more were wounded. This caused the citizens decently, though firmly and resolutely to insist on the troops being removed from town, to the Castle, and they accomplished it.
- April. The use of India teas entirely laid aside in Boston. Parliament had taken off the duties on paper, glass and painters' colours, but retained the duty on tea, to support the claim of supremacy.
- May. This month died in England, *Dennis de Berdt*, Esq. Massachusetts Provincial Agent. He was succeeded in that office, by Dr. Benjamin Franklin.
 Agreeably to a vote of the town of Boston, Capt. Scott sailed from thence this month for London, with the cargo of goods he had brought from thence, contrary to the non-importation agreement; to give evidence on the other side the water, of the sincerity of said agreement.
- May 30. This day the election of Counsellors for the Province of Massachusetts Bay, was held at Cambridge conformably to

Governour Hutchinson's orders, but contrary to their Character, and the sense of the whole Province. The patriotic party celebrated the day in Boston. An ox was roasted on the common, and given to the populace.

1770.

Lieutenant Governour Hutchinson, by virtue of instructions, delivered Castle William, in Boston harbour, to Colonel Dalrymple, to be garrisoned by British troops.

Sept. 10.

The Earl of Dunmore arrived at New-York, being appointed Governour of that Colony. The Scottish interest at this time, was great in England.

Oct. 15.

The trial of Captain Thomas Preston, for the massacre, on the 5th of March last, came on, at the Superior Court of Judicature, held in Boston. He is brought in, *not guilty*, and discharged.

Oct. 23.

The eight soldiers, who were indicted also, for the massacre, had their trial begun this day. It lasted seven days, when, *two* only, were found guilty of man-slaughter: These were slightly branded, and *all* of them liberated. These trials were the subject of much animadversion.

Nov. 27.

Lieutenant Governour Hutchinson receives a Commission to be Governour and Commander in chief of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay. He refuses the Provincial salary, and receives it out of the American Revenue Chest, being made independent of the people, and is paid by the Crown. Esteemed by the people, a dangerous innovation.

1771.

Admiral Montague succeeds Commodore Gambier as Commander in chief of the Naval Armament, at Boston.

August.

The King's armed schooner *Gaspée*, having been troublesome to the trade of Rhode-Island, they burnt her.

1772.

Colonel Dalrymple with the 14th regiment, quitted their barracks at Castle William; being ordered to Barbadoes, from thence to proceed on an expedition against the poor Caribs at St. Vincents.

June 9.

July 22.

The Massachusetts General Court petition the King to remove Governour Hutchinson, and Lieutenant Governour Andrew Oliver, from their respective offices in the Province.

1773.

A Committee of Correspondence was chosen in Boston. *This is the foundation of the Union of the American States.*

Nov. 22.

On the evening of this day, *three* cargoes of teas the property of the East-India Company in London, were thrown into the docks in Boston, and destroyed by a number of persons disguised like the Indian natives. Neither the Governour nor Commissioners, would grant liberty to send it back.

Dec. 16.

The Cruiser sloop of war, Capt. Howe, arrived at Boston this month, bringing a commission under the Great Seal of England, appointing Joseph Wanton of Rhode-Island, Daniel Horsmanden Chief Justice of New-York, Frederick

December

1774.

Smith Chief Justice of New-Jersey, Peter Oliver Chief Justice of Massachusetts Bay, and Robert Auchmuty Judge of Admiralty, to make inquiry into the affair of burning the Gaspee at Rhode-Island. Admiral Montague was directed to hoist his flag at Newport, during the sitting of the court of inquiry. This indicated a rigorous procedure. The Commissioners accordingly met at Newport, made inquiry and adjourned. They met again, and dissolved their meeting. It produced nothing but expense.

January.

The petition from Massachusetts General Court, to remove Governour Hutchinson from the Government was dismissed by King and Council, but he was notwithstanding superseded soon after.

May 14.

Major General Thomas Gage arrived this day at Boston with a commission to be Governour of said Province, in room of Thomas Hutchinson, Esq. and commander in chief of his Majesty's forces in North America.

Governour Hutchinson took his departure for England.

An act of Parliament, called the "*Boston Port Bill*," which shut up the Port, as a punishment for destroying the tea in December last, was under consideration of the town at the time of General Gage's arrival; and many spirited resolves were passed at the town meetings.

June.

The new Governour was instructed to hold the General Court at Salem. They accordingly met there this month. At the close of the session, they chose five delegates to meet such as should be chosen by the other Colonies, to convene at Philadelphia, and take into consideration the alarming state of all the Colonies, &c. This was the basis of the *Continental Congress*.

General Gage receives an act of Parliament which altered the constitution of Massachusetts Bay, as it stood under the charter of William and Mary.

August 8.

Thomas Oliver appointed to succeed Andrew Oliver, Esq. deceased, as Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts Bay; his commission was read this day.

Sept. 5.

The *first Continental Congress* convened at Philadelphia consisting of delegates from the twelve United Colonies, viz. New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina.*

They passed sundry resolves declaring their rights. They agreed on a joint petition to King George III. for redress of their grievances. They wrote letters to the people of Great Britain, "on the subject of the controversy between them and the inhabitants of the Colonies," and to the inhabitants

* Georgia united with the twelve Colonies afterwards.

1775.

the Province of Quebec; and formed an association for the purposes of non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation, for continuing the total disuse of India teas, to encourage frugality, promote agriculture, arts and manufactures, discountenance extravagance, &c. &c.

Lord Chatham zealously espoused the cause of the Colonies: And in the most explicit manner delivered his sentiments in the House of Lords. He moved for an address to his Majesty, "To remove the troops from Boston, as necessarily preparative to the restoration of peace."

"I wish not my Lords (said the noble Earl) to lose a day in this urgent pressing crisis. One hour now lost in allaying the ferment in America may produce years of calamity. I contend not for indulgence but *justice* to America. I shall never contend that the Americans justly owe obedience to the Legislature of Great Britain, *in a limited degree*. They owe obedience to our ordinary trade and navigation, but let the line be skillfully drawn between the subjects of these ordinances, and their private *internal* property.† Let the sacredness of their property remain inviolate. *Let it be taxable only by their own consent, given in their provincial assemblies, else it will cease to be property.*

"The victory can never be obtained by exertions. Our force would be most disproportionably exerted against a brave, generous and united people, with arms in their hands, and courage in their hearts. Three millions of people, the genuine descendants of a valiant and pious ancestry, driven to those deserts by the narrow maxims of superstitious tyranny, cannot be conquered. And is the spirit of tyrannous persecution never to be repealed? Are the brave sons of those brave forefathers to inherit their sufferings, as they have inherited their virtues?

"The Bostonians have been condemned unheard (*alluding to the Boston Port Bill, as a punishment for destroying the East-India Company's Teas.*) The indiscriminating hand of vengeance has lumped together innocent and guilty, with all the formalities of hostilities; and reduced to beggary and indigence, thirty thousand inhabitants.

"The glorious spirit of whigism, animates three millions in America, who prefer poverty with liberty, to gilded chains and fordid affluence; and who will die in defence of their rights as men, as free men. Every motive of justice, and of policy, of dignity and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America, by a removal of your troops from Boston, by a repeal of your Acts of Parliament, and by demonstrations of an amicable disposition, towards your Colonies.

† Internal taxes is the bone of contention.—FRANKLIN.

1775.

On the other hand, every danger and every hazard, impeded to deter you from perseverance in your present ruinous measures. Foreign War hanging over your head by a single thread; France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors, with a vigilant eye. America, and the temper of our Colonists," &c. &c.* In this manner spake this great, this honest Statesman, but his voice was not attended to: And they persevered in what his Lordship calls, with great propriety, their *ruinous measures*.

March.

Lord North's *conciliatory plan*, so called, was received in Philadelphia this month. It proposed "that the several Assemblies on the Continent, should tax themselves in due proportions, and under such limitations as were therein expressed, agreeable to a Resolve of the House of Commons of the 20th February. But before the Assemblies could meet to take it into consideration, the British troops had commenced hostilities; the plan was to be laid, by the several Governours then in being, before the Assembly of each Colony. The first for this purpose that met was at Philadelphia; but this was not till the month of May, which prevented any good effects or plans, the Colonial Assembly might have adopted, in consequence of Lord North's proposal. For, prior to the meeting of the Assembly, viz. On

April. 19.

Hostilities were commenced by a detachment of the British troops, ordered from Boston by Governour General Gage, who having advanced to Lexington, about 19 miles from the capital, on seeing a company of militia parading there, fired on them *while dispersing*, killed eight of them and wounded many others. They then proceeded to Concord to destroy some provincial military stores; but being opposed by the country militia, they returned to Boston with much difficulty, and not without the loss of 273 killed, wounded and missing. At this time the American war commenced, and the country militia invested the town of Boston, where the British troops were quartered.

This month Governour Legge of Halifax passed an act to prohibit the exportation of gun powder, arms, ammunition and salt petre coast ways, fearing they might fall into the hands of the United Colonies.

May.

The Bostonians deliver up their fire arms by agreement with the Governour, as a condition of their removing into the country. The Governour fails in some part of the agreement, to the injury of the Bostonians.

Boston now became the King's garrison.

* See Lord Chatham's Speech in the House of Lords printed in the public newspapers.

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A plan being adopted by the Continental Congress to secure the Canadians to the Continental interest; and thereby defeat a scheme said to be proposed by the Governor of Canada, General Carlton, to employ the Canadians and Indians to make inroads on the frontier settlements of New England. In pursuance of the Continental design, expeditions into what is called the Northern Department, were undertaken, under sanction of Congress.

Upon a proposal made to Colonel Ethan Allen of Bennington, he raised the *Green Mountain Boys* (those are so called who settled at *Vermont* on the New-Hampshire grants.) He surprised the garrison of *Ticonderoga* and took it this May 10, with a quantity of cannon and stores, without loss of a man.

Crown Point was taken the same day by Colonel Seth Warner.

The Massachusetts *Provincial Congress* renounce General Gage as their Governor, and disclaim paying obedience to his acts or proclamations. His jurisdiction now is confined within the walls of the capital only.

The Generals Howe, Burgoyne and Clinton, arrive at May 25, Boston from England, to carry on the war Great Britain began in the Colonies.

General Gage issues a proclamation, declaring the Massachusetts Bay to be in a state of Rebellion. June 12.

Bunker Hill battle was fought this day against the Provincials by General Howe, with about three thousand troops from Boston—*Charlestown is burnt*—General Warren slain on the side of the Provincials—The British gain the day, with the loss of eighteen hundred and fifty-one* killed and wounded; among which were eighty-five officers: this was to the British a dear bought victory.—They erect fortresses on the hill. June 17.

General George Washington arrived this day at the Provisional camp in Cambridge; having been appointed by the unanimous voice of the Continental Congress, generalissimo of all the troops raised, or to be raised for the defence of the United Colonies, and took command of the country militia investing the town of Boston. July 2.

* Seven hundred and forty-six, killed; eleven hundred and four, wounded.

1775.
July 6.

IN CONGRESS, July 6, 1775.

A DECLARATION by the Representatives of the United Colonies of North America, setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms.

IF it were possible for men who exercise their reason to believe, that the divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by infinite goodness and wisdom, as the objects of a legal domination, never righteously resistible, however severe and oppressive: The inhabitants of these Colonies might at least require from the Parliament of Great Britain, some evidence that this dreadful authority over them has been granted that body. But a reverence for our great Creator's principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, may convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to preserve the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end.

The Legislature of Great Britain, however stimulated by inordinate passion for a power not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very Constitution of that kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest, where regard should be had to truth, law or right, have at length, deserting these, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these Colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to contend with their last appeal from reason to arms. Yet, how blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice, and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound, by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause.

Our forefathers, inhabitants of the island of Great Britain, left their native land, to seek on these shores, residence in civil and religious freedom. At the expense of their blood at the hazard of their fortunes; without the least charge on the country from whence they removed; by increasing labour, and an unconquerable spirit, they effected settlement in the distant and inhospitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous, and warlike nations of barbarians. Societies or governments vested with perfect legislatures were formed under charters from the Crown, and an harmonious intercourse was established between the Colonies, and the kingdom from which they derived their origin. The mutual benefits of this Union became, in a short time, so extraordinary as to excite astonishment.

1775.

It is universally confessed that the amazing increase of the wealth, strength and navigation of the realm arose from this source, and the minister who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of Great Britain in the late war, publicly declared, that these Colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies. Towards the conclusion of that war, it pleased our sovereign to make a change in his councils.

From that fatal moment, the affairs of the British empire, began to fall into confusion; and gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity to which they had been advanced by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length attracted by the convulsions that now shake it to its deepest foundations. The new ministry, finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

These devoted Colonies were judged to be in such a state to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy voluments of statutable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behaviour from the beginning of Colonization, their dutiful, zealous and useful services during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged by his Majesty, by the late King and by Parliament, could not save them from the meditated innovations.

Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project, and assuming a new power over them, have in the course of eleven years, given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of acquiescence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property; statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of courts of Admiralty and Vice Admiralty beyond their ancient limits; for depriving us of our accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by jury in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the Legislature of one of the Colonies; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and substituted by acts of its own Legislature, solemnly confirmed by the crown, for exempting the "murderers" of colonists from trial, and in effect from punishment; for erecting in a neighbouring province acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence; and for quartering soldiers upon the colonists in time of profound peace. It has also been resolved in Parliament that colonists charged with committing certain offences shall be transported to England to be tried.

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But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail. By one statute it is declared, that Parliament can "of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever." What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single man of those who assume it is chosen by us, or subject to our control or influence; but on the contrary they are all of them exempt from the operation of such law and an *American* revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens as they increase ours. We saw the misery which such despotism would reduce us. We, for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besought the throne as supplicants. We reasoned, we remonstrated with Parliament in the most mild and decent language.

Administration, sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them. The indignation of the Americans was roused, it is true; but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal, and affectionate people. A Congress of Delegates from the United Colonies, was assembled at Philadelphia the fifth day of September. We resolved again to offer our humble and dutiful petition to the King, and so addressed our fellow subjects of Great Britain. We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure. We have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow subjects, as the last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation upon earth should supplant our attachment to liberty. This we flattered ourselves was the ultimate step of the controversy. But subsequent events have shewn how vain was this hoping for moderation in our enemies.

Several threatening expressions against the Colonies were inserted in his Majesty's speech; our petition, though we were told it was a decent one, and that his Majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise to lay it before his Parliament, was huddled into both Houses among a bundle of American papers, and there neglected. The Lords and Commons in their address in the month of February said that "a rebellion at that time actually existed, within the Province of Massachusetts Bay; and that those concerns in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements entered into by his Majesty's subjects, in several of the other Colonies; and therefore they besought his Majesty that he would take the most effectual measures, to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the Supreme Legislature."

Soon after the commercial intercourse of whole colonies with foreign countries and with each other, was cut off

1775.

an act of Parliament—by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coast on which they always depended for their subsistence; and large reinforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to General Gage.

Fruitless were all the entreaties, arguments and eloquence of an illustrious band of the most distinguished Peers and Commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay, or even to mitigate the heedless fury with which these accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitless was the interference of the cities of London, of Bristol, and of many other respectable towns in our favour. Parliament adopted an insidious manœuvre calculated to divide us; to establish a perpetual auction of taxations, where colony should bid against colony, all of them uninformed what ransom would redeem their lives, and thus to extort from us, at the point of the bayonet, the unknown sums that would be sufficient to gratify, if possible to gratify, ministerial rapacity, with the inconsiderable indulgence left to us of raising, in our own mode, the prescribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorseless victors to conquered enemies? In our circumstances to accept them, would be to deserve them.

Soon after the intelligence of these proceedings, arrived on the continent, General Gage, who in the course of the last year, had taken possession of the town of Boston in Massachusetts Bay, and still occupied it as a garrison, on the 19th day of April, sent out from that place a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the said province at the town of *Lexington*, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of persons; some of whom were officers and foldiers of that detachment, murdered eight of the inhabitants and wounded many others. From thence the troops proceeded, in warlike array, to the town of *Concord*, where they set upon another party of the inhabitants of the same province, killing several and wounding more, until compelled to retreat by the country people, suddenly assembled to repel this cruel aggression.

Hostilities, thus commenced by the British troops, have been since prosecuted by them without regard to faith or reputation. The inhabitants of *Boston*, being confined within that town by the General their Governour, and having, in order to procure their dismissal, entered into a treaty with him, it was stipulated that the said inhabitants, having deposited their arms with their own magistrates, should have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects. They accordingly delivered up their arms: But in open violation

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of honour, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even savage nations esteem sacred, the Governour ordered the arms deposited as aforesaid, that they might be preserved for their owners, to be secured by a body of soldiers, detained the greatest part of the inhabitants in town, and compelled the few, who were permitted to retire, to leave their most valuable effects behind. By this perfidy wives are separated from their husbands, children from their parents, the aged and the sick from their relations and friends who wish to attend and comfort them, and those who have been used to live in plenty are reduced to deplorable distress.

The General further emulating his ministerial masters, by a proclamation bearing date the 12th day of June, after venting the grossest falshoods and calumnies against the good people of these colonies proceeds to "declare them all, either by name or description, to be rebels and traitors, to supersede the course of the common law and instead thereof to publish and order the use and exercise of the law marshal."

His troops have butchered our countrymen, have wantonly burnt Charlestown, besides a considerable number of houses in other places—our ships and vessels are seized, the necessary supplies of provisions are intercepted, and he is exerting his utmost power to spread destruction and devastation around him.

We have received certain intelligence, that General Carlton the Governour of Canada is instigating the people of that Province and the Indians, to fall on us: And we have but too much reason to apprehend that schemes have been formed to excite domestic enemies against us. In fine, a part of these Colonies now feel, and all of them are sure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of administration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, sword and famine. We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice—We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honour, justice and humanity forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us.

We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great; and if necessary foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge as signal instances of the divine favour towards us; that Providence

1775.

would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in military operations, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves with hearts fortified with these animating reflections. We most solemnly, before God and the world declare, that exerting the utmost energy of those powers which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us the arms we have been by our enemies compelled to assume, we will in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties; being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves.

Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to be restored. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent States. We fight not for glory, or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without an imputation or even a suspicion of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet profess no milder conditions than servitude or death.

In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birth-right, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violations of it, for the protection of our property acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered. We have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to protect us happily through this great conflict—to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.

By recommendation of the Continental Congress, this day was observed as a *public fast*, throughout the United Colonies; being the *first general* or continental fast ever kept on one and the same day, since the Colonies were settled—they were now all in a like predicament, and alike needed the direction and assistance of heaven.

Early in the fall, the small army in the northern department, under Gen. Schuyler and Montgomery, were ordered

July 20.

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by Congress to advance into Canada. Col. Ethan Allen with Major Brown, were dispatched through the wood to inform the Canadians, that their design was only against the English garrison, and not the country, their religion or liberties.

August.

Paper bills are now issued, and become the currency of the United Colonies. Congress having voted, "That a sum not exceeding one million of Spanish milled dollars, be emitted by them in bills of credit, for the defence of America; that the twelve * confederated Colonies be pledged for their redemption; the number and denominations of the bills to be as follows, viz. 49000 bills each from one dollar to eight dollars. 11800 of twenty dollars each. They further resolved, that one million of dollars in bills of thirty dollars each be also emitted. Each Colony to provide ways and means to sink its proportion of the bills, and that the several Colonies and Provincial Assemblies levy taxes on their respective Colonies for the purpose of sinking the continental bill.

Gold and silver now disappeared, and paper bills only circulated. Congress hath given us the situation of the Colonies with respect to money at this period, they say "we had very little money of our own to raise, pay, and support an army—we were without regular governments to levy and collect taxes—we could borrow none of any nation in the world—we had no other resource but the natural value and worth of our fertile country. On the credit of this Bank bills were emitted, and the faith of the continent pledged for their redemption."

Sept.

General Gage embarked for England—and the command of the British troops in America devolved upon Sir William Howe.

Sept. 18.

Fort Chamberlain, in the northern department, surrendered to Major Brown.

Oct. 7

Saturday evening the *Rose*, *Glasgow* and *Swan* Men of War with several armed tenders and transports, in all about thirteen sail, arrived in *Bristol* harbour from *Newport*, and formed a line before the town. A barge was soon sent on shore, requiring four magistrates or principal men to repair on board the *Rose*. The inhabitants did not think proper to comply with this requisition, but offered to treat with any person who might be sent on or near the shore, promising that no insult should be offered them, and requesting that the matter might be put off till the next morning. This answer was returned, and in less than an hour a heavy cannonading began from the ships and tenders. The inhabitants, not being apprehensive of such sudden and unprovoked cruelty

* Georgia had not yet united with the other Colonies.

1775.

were thrown into much confusion. The night was dark and many. Upwards of sixty persons lay languishing on beds of sickness, who were removed into the streets; and with the women and children formed a scene that can be more easily imagined than described. Such of them as had strength escaped, while others were conveyed to places of safety in carriages. The firing continued above an hour; during which more than 120 cannon and some carcasses were discharged against the town, and a tender which lay near the bridge at the north end, kept up a constant fire upon the people that were going out. One of the inhabitants after hailing the *Ship of War* was taken on board, and on inquiring the reason of such hostile proceedings, was informed, that Captain Wallace demanded of the town of Bristol 100 sheep and 50 head of cattle, but consented finally to be satisfied with 40 sheep only; upon the delivery of which he promised to desist from all further hostilities against them; but if the inhabitants refused to comply, he would lay the town in ashes. The demand was laid before the committee of inspection; who considering the raging sickness, and other peculiar circumstances of the town, ordered 40 sheep to be delivered; which was accordingly done. Wallace afterwards dispatched a barge, and plundered them of hogs, poultry, butter, cheese, &c. The church, meeting-house, court-house, and several dwellings and out-houses at Bristol, were damaged. A ball entered Mr. Finney's distil-house, and let out two casks of rum; but, providentially, during the whole of this brutal transaction, none of the inhabitants were killed or wounded.

About 9 o'clock on Sunday, the fleet left Bristol harbour, and lay some time between Poposquash and Hog Island. At the last mentioned place, they landed and cut up a quantity of corn. On Monday morning, as the fleet was attempting to pass by Bristol ferry, the *Rose* and a Tender run aground on the West Muscle-bed, Rhode-Island side, and were from thence fired on by a number of minute men. The ships and tenders fired on each side, and several balls went through the ferry house at Bristol.

In the afternoon the *Rose* and Tender floated; and proceeded with the others down the river. On Tuesday they took from Hope and Rose island 20 or 30 rams, and fired a number of shot at Connecticut ferry and other places on the river. Wednesday the fleet returned to Newport.

In a few hours after the firing began at Bristol a large body of minute men and militia, were collected there from the neighbouring towns.*

* See the *Providence Gazette*, printed by John Carter, Saturday, October 14, 1775.
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To the foregoing account is subjoined the following:
 "The Rev. *John Burt*, minister of the Congregation church at Bristol, was found dead in a field near his house Sunday morning, which he had left the evening before, after the Men of War began to fire on the town. He was far advanced in years, had been unwell some days before, it is supposed died in a fit. He was a gentleman of exemplary piety, eminent in his profession, of a truly benevolent disposition, and a warm assertor of the liberties of his country."

Oct. 16.

Falmouth, in Casco-bay, Massachusetts, was burnt by Captain Mowatt, under the orders of Admiral S. Greaves at Boston.

The chief command of the Continental forces in the northern department was given to Major General Montgomery and

Nov. 2.

He invested St. John's, and took it.

Colonel Ethan Allen, being sent a second time to reconnoitre that country, fell into the hands of the British on attempt with Colonel Brown to reduce Montreal. A spy (he relates) discovered to the enemy the weakness of his party and being attacked by about 500 Regulars, Canadians, Indians, he became a prisoner to Colonel Prescott, who ordered him on board a frigate, and to be loaded with iron &c.

Montreal was soon after taken by General Montgomery with the Governour, Prescott.

The second petition of Congress was committed to the care of his Excellency Richard Penn, Esq. of the proprietary government of Pennsylvania, then leaving his government for England. On the motion of Lords Richmond and Sturme, it was laid before the House of Lords the seventh of this month, November. Governour Penn was examined before them respecting the state and disposition of the Colonies, who gave it as his opinion, "that the majority of them were not for independency;" the wishes of Congress expressed in their first petition, were only for peace, liberty and safety. "We wish not (say the petitioners) a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grants of any new rights. We present this petition only for redress of grievances and relief from fears and jealousies occasioned by the system of statutes and regulations adopted (since the close of the late war, 1763) for raising a revenue in America—extending the power of courts of Vice Admiralty—trying persons in Great Britain for offences alleged to be committed in America; affecting the Province of Massachusetts Bay by entering the government there and extending the limits of the province. On the abolition of which system the harmony between

Great Britain and the Colonies so necessary for the happiness of both, and so ardently desired by the latter, and usual intercourse will be immediately restored.

The petition concludes in the most humble and loyal terms but no redress could be obtained whilst they controverted the assumed right of Parliament to bind them in all cases whatsoever."

About this time Colonel Benedict Arnold arrived at Point Levi, in Canada, with a party of about 900 men out of 1200, the number destined by General Washington to serve in that quarter.

They went from the camp at Cambridge, and embarked at Kennebeck with design to proceed through the country to Canada; but the fatigue being great, and not a sufficiency of provision for the whole detachment, 300 of them had leave to return. Those who proceeded endured great hardship, having travelled through a large extent of country, represented as having never been before trodden by any foot but that of Indians and wild beasts, at a rigorous season of the year, where they endured all the miseries of cold and hunger. The French Canadians received them with great cheerfulness, and supplied them.

The Governour of Canada having information of their arrival, and expecting an attack on the capital from the augmented force of General Montgomery, he obtained the assurances of the merchants of Quebec, the militia officers and masters of the ships there, that they would assist in defending the city. He ordered the gates to be shut and necessary preparations to be made to repel the force that might be employed against them—it turned out as the Governour expected, and the capital was attacked.

On the evening of this day, an unsuccessful attempt was made to gain possession of Quebec.

General Montgomery's design was to carry the town by escalade. While he was waiting the opportunity of a snow storm to carry his design into execution, several of his men deserted to the enemy, who discovered his plan, and occasioned him to alter it; (which, but for the intelligence the deserters had given, might perhaps have proved successful.) The General, at the head of the New-York troops, advanced against the lower town; but being obliged to take a circuit, the signal for an attack was given, and the garrison alarmed before he reached the place. However, he passed the first barrier, and was just going to attempt the second, when by the first fire from the enemy he was *unfortunately killed*,* together with his Aid-de-Camp, Captain John Mac Pherfon,

1775.

Nov. 11.

Dec. 31.

* December 31, 1775, aged 38.

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Dec. 31.

Captain Cheefman, and two or three more. This so distressed the men, that Colonel Campbell, on whom the command devolved, found himself under the disagreeable necessity of drawing them off. Colonel Arnold, with 350 of the brave troops that penetrated Canada under his command and Captain Lamb's company of artillery, passed to St. Rokes, and carried a small battery of two guns; but in the attack Arnold had his leg splintered and was obliged to be carried off; but at length after having sustained the force of the whole garrison for three hours, the Continentals were obliged to yield to numbers. Three hundred of them were made prisoners, and about sixty killed and wounded. This is the substance of an account of this expedition that was published.

The public papers furnish the following account of General Montgomery. "He was a Captain of grenadiers in the 17th regiment of British troops, of which General Monekton was Colonel. He served the last war in the expedition in the West-Indies, and America, and returned with his regiment to England. In 1772, he quitted his regiment, though in a fair way of preferment. Whilst in America he imbibed an affection for this country—he had, while in the King's service, declared his disapprobation of the sentiments of the ministry, and viewed America as the rising seat of arts and freedom. He lived about 100 miles behind New-York. Expressing his readiness, if Great Britain continued her oppressions, to draw his sword in defence of freedom. Upon application to him he did not hesitate, but immediately engaged in the cause, and, as we have seen, lost his life bravely in it."

After the failure of this expedition a series of misfortune ensued; and attended the operations in the northern department for a time, and the British regained possession of the places that had been taken from them.

December.

Captain Manly, in a Continental cruizer, captures a valuable ordnance vessel, having on board a great variety of military implements, besides mortars, bombs, &c. This acquisition facilitated the operations of the Continental troops against the garrison of Boston.

The *Earl of Dunmore*, Governour of New-York, was removed to the Government of Virginia, where he levied war with that Colony. He set up the royal standard there, and invited to it, white and black of every character and condition; those who did not repair to it were deemed rebels, and treated as such.

December.

A battle took place at Gwynn's Island, in which the Virginians prevailed, and obliged his Lordship to take shelter on board a man of war on that station—in revenge for which

Norfolk was destroyed by three of the King's ships, the *Lizard*, *Otter*, and another. An officer on board the *Otter*, in a letter published, *exults* in the destruction of it, and discovers sentiments derogatory to the character of a man of bravery and humanity. The loss, computed to be sustained, is £200,000 sterling. Norfolk was said to have contained about six thousand inhabitants—an English paper says, "the rents in 1775, were £10,000 sterling."

The impolitic measures of Great Britain, threaten the loss of the trade of this Colony, (i. e. Virginia) to that kingdom, which an author of their own, makes to be £1,200,000 sterling per annum. "In times of peace (he says) there are more than an hundred thousand hogheads of tobacco exported every year; in which trade is employed about four thousand seamen."

Admiral Shuldham arrived at Boston to relieve Admiral S. Greaves on that station. He brought with him the King's Speech, delivered to his Parliament, in October last, in which his Majesty holds up the idea, that *independency* was the object of the Colonies, and recommends, as an act of humanity, their exertions to put a speedy end to the *rebellion*; in other words—*more vigorously to prosecute the war*. The Commons, in their address, echo back the same language. This obsequious Parliament engaged their lives and fortunes to support his Majesty in defeating and suppressing, what they call the "rebellion in America;" they voted twenty-five thousand men for this service, and an augmentation of the Navy on the American station.

Congress now thought it expedient to provide against the depredations of the British Cruisers, who swarmed in the American seas, and came into a resolution to build thirteen frigates, to be got ready for sea early in the spring. Though these frigates were launched in season, yet they did not answer the expectation of the Continent. Great delays, and probably necessary delays, for want of stores, &c. to equip them, gave the enemy opportunity to block some of them up in the ports where they were built. Most of the others met with disasters of one kind or other, being captured by the enemy, blown up at sea, run ashore, &c.

The manufacture of salt-petre and gun-powder was of great importance to the United States. They could obtain none from any foreign country, and their parent State had prohibited its exportation to America; therefore every communication relative to the manner of making them, was carefully attended to, and experiments rewarded with a bounty by the General Assemblies. A method of making gun-powder was published by Henry Wisner, who had erected a *Powder-Mill*

1776.

Jan. 1.

Jan. 1.

February.

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at New-York.—A Virginian also published an account of the ingredients and their proportion to each other, used in this manufacture, which, from a great number of experiments he found to be best, and is copied from a new Chemical Dictionary, translated from the French. The proportion is 75 parts of nitre, or salt-petre, 15 parts and an half of charcoal, 9 parts and an half of sulphur or brimstone.

Feb. 6.

Captain Esek Hopkins of Providence in Rhode-Island (brother to one of the Delegates at Congress from that Colony) was commissioned by Congress, commander of a fleet of five sail of armed vessels, viz. the *Alfred* 32 guns, *Columbus* 32 guns, *Andrew Doria* 16, *Cabot* 14, and *Providence* of 12 guns. They left Philadelphia this day and proceeded to Carolina, and from thence to *New-Providence*, one of the Bahama Islands. On their arrival there, the Commodore summoned the garrison to surrender—which they did, and brought off *Mountford Browne*, Esq. the King's Governour, and other crown officers, with all the military stores found there, and landed them at New-London, in Connecticut. In their passage back, some of the Continental fleet fell in with some of *Wallace's* (a hectoring troublesome British commander on the Rhode-Island station) off the east end of Long-Island.—One of the British was captured, and the others made off.

February.

General Clinton from Boston, with five hundred troops arrived at New-York—he did not land them, but sailed from thence to the more southern Colonies; to which he was followed by General Lee, from the Continental camp.

To carry on the war in America, Parliament had recourse to the expedient of hiring foreign troops, and entered into treaty with the Duke of Brunswick, and Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and Count of Hanau, to furnish a number of troops to serve against the Americans. Besides the wages to be paid these hirelings, the treaties stipulated to grant to the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, in case of disturbances in his territories, not only all the service that should be in their power, but likewise to continue it, till the Landgrave should have received security or indemnification, and to pay for every soldier who did not return, thirty pounds sterling per head, and for every disabled soldier, fifteen pounds sterling per head.

March 5.

It was moved by the minority, in the House of Lords, to present an address to his Majesty, setting forth the many evils with which treaties of this nature were pregnant—the disadvantages that would accrue therefrom to Great Britain, and to implore his Majesty to stop the march of the German

troops. But the question for this address was resolved in the negative, a majority of 100 being against it.

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Lord *George Germaine*, who succeeded the Earl of Dartmouth as American Secretary of State, and who had the conduct of the war put under his direction, has the credit of exhibiting to Parliament the plan for hiring Germans for the American service. If we inquire into the character, and former conduct of this nobleman, we shall find he is the identical Lord *George Sackville*, (a son of Earl Dorset) who discovered such an aversion to the report and smell of gunpowder at the battle of Minden, Anno 1759, when he disobeyed the orders of Prince Ferdinand the commander at an important crisis. The Prince represented his conduct to the British Court—he was tried by a court martial, and deprived of all his *military* employments, and declared incapable of ever serving in them again. This was in the days of Pitt—but now in the days of North—he is advanced to an important *civil* department—perhaps because he possesses the qualifications necessary to scourge the Americans.

March.

Lord *William Campbell*, Governour of South-Carolina, like his countryman the Earl of Dunmore of Virginia, having by his tyrannic measures irritated the people of his government, and fearing the effects of their resentment, deserted his government and fled on board one of the Kings ships at Charleston.

Sunday morning, Boston, in the Massachusetts Bay, was evacuated by the whole British force, naval and military. March 17.

Congress publish their Resolves, by which the inhabitants of the Colonies were permitted to fit out vessels on their own private account and risque to cruise on the enemies of the United Colonies, to capture their ships and merchandize. A *maritime* court was appointed for their trial and condemnation if the captures were proved to be the property of the enemy. March 23.

This resolve of Congress was in consequence of an act of Parliament, passed December, 1775, which declares "The Colonies to be in a state of rebellion and directs to stop all intercourse with them, and to seize all American property wherever to be found after the first day of January, 1776."

The terms *Whig* and *Tory*, obtained throughout the Colonies; by the *former*, is intended those who are in opposition to Parliamentary measures—the *latter*, are those who abetted them.

March.

An action took place in North-Carolina between the Whigs there, and some of the Tory inhabitants, who had joined Governour Martin, in which the latter sustained great loss.

1776.

General Clinton after his arrival in Carolina dispatched a part of his troops for Georgia. They were repulsed on their attempt to land, and fifteen sail of their vessels damaged and destroyed, which obliged them to desist from their enterprise.

[Georgia is situated between South Carolina and Florida. This Colony had a charter granted in the fifth of George II. At the commencement of the troubles in America, Sir James Wright was King's Governour—but this Colony sharing in the oppressions, they joined in the Union of the other twelve Colonies.]

May 3.

Commodore *Sir Peter Parker*, with a small squadron of ships arrived at Cape Fear. The British armament destined to operate in this quarter, rendezvoused first at this place.

General *Earl Cornwallis* arrived with Sir Peter. This nobleman, in the beginning of the American disputes, had protested with some of the minority against coercive measures, and voted for the repeal of the Stamp Act, upon the principle that Parliament had no right to tax the Colonies unrepresented.—But his Lordship was afterwards influenced by the majority to come into their measures, and *personally* to assist in carrying into execution, those very measures he had before reprobated.

May 6.

General *Carlton* at Quebec having received succours from England, by the Surprise Frigate, Captain *Lindsay*, he improved the first opportunity, after their arrival, to sally out of the garrison suddenly with about a thousand men.

The Continentals serving in that quarter were dispersed in various parts of the country; two hundred of them sick; not more than two hundred could be mustered at head quarters; which small force could not resist the enemy to advantage, and the attack being unexpected they were obliged to make a precipitate retreat to *Trois Rivières*, leaving their cannon, a number of musquets, and many sick behind them. The small remnant of the Continentals soon after removed to the *Sorelle*.

A small Continental fort at the Cedars, forty-five miles west of Montreal, consisting of a garrison of about three hundred, under Major *Butterfield*, were obliged to surrender to upwards of six hundred Regulars, Canadians and Indians.

May 19.

A reinforcement of an hundred men under Major *Sherburne*, ordered for their relief, was intercepted in the woods, and captured by a party of five hundred after a very obstinate dispute: And (the account published of this affair reports) whilst Brigadier General *Arnold* was preparing to follow, the enemy stripped the prisoners almost naked, tomahawked, and otherwise barbarously used them; one of them they shot, and while he retained life and sensation the Indians roasted

1776.

June 13.

June 16.

June 28.

The prisoners were driven to a fort commanded by a British Captain Foster of the eighth regiment, who we do not learn had humanity enough to restrain or discountenance the barbarities exercised on them. The enemy had twenty-two killed, amongst whom was a Chief Warrior of the Seneca's; those that remained of the Continentals were exchanged by a cartel.

The Renown Man of War was driven from Boston harbour by the Provincials, &c. under the conduct of General Lincoln, which opened the port of Boston, without the leave of Parliament.

Major General Sullivan joined the small Continental army at the Sorelle, and dispatched a body under Colonel Thompson to dislodge the enemy who were intrenching at Trois Rivieres: But at this critical time they were reinforced which proved disastrous to the Continentals. The commander was taken prisoner, three other officers, and a number of privates.

The Continental army in Canada, having been much weakened by sickness and unsuccessful attempts against the enemy, who were strengthened by reinforcements; General Burgoyne having arrived there from England with recruits; and the four thousand he brought with him were soon followed by some Brunswickers. The reduction of Quebec was by these means rendered impracticable for the present. It was judged that the Continentals might be better employed in some other quarter. The siege of Quebec was therefore raised, and the troops withdrawn after they had been in that neighbourhood six months from the 15th of November. They retreated to Crown Point, and (as a private letter from whence mentions) "affairs were managed with consummate policy and prudence through the intrepidity of our Generals, first Thomas, and then Sullivan. We have brought off all that could be saved from Sorelle, Chamblee and St. Johns."

Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell with Highland troops was captured, and brought into Boston.

General Clinton and Sir Peter Parker were repulsed at Charleston (S. C.) this day. Earl Cornwallis having joined General Clinton, they attempted the reduction of Charleston. We collect the following particulars of their defeat from Major General Lee's letter to the President of Congress.

"Sir Peter went over the bar with his whole fleet, consisting of two line of battle ships, the Bristol and Experiment of fifty guns each, and six frigates from twenty-eight to twenty guns, and anchored within half a musquet shot of the fort on Sullivan's Island, (a log fort was all they could bring to bear on the vessels) three miles from Charleston. A furious en-

1776.

gement ensued, and lasted twelve hours without intermission, and though the garrison were raw troops, their behaviour would have done honour to the oldest. *Colonel Moultrie*, native of that country who commanded there, acquired great honour. The troops were repulsed twice by *Colonel Thompson* of the Carolina rangers in attempting to make lodgment at the extremity of the island. We had only two men killed and seventy-two wounded, seven of whom lost their limbs, and though in this circumstance, encouraged their comrades never to abandon the standard of liberty and their country. The loss of the enemy is great.* The Commodore had his breech† much torn with the splinters and was wounded; the Captain of his ship lost his left arm; the Captain of the Experiment was killed; besides which one hundred and four were killed and sixty-five wounded. Three of the ships got aground. The *Aetion* of twenty-eight guns could not be got off, and was burnt and blown up by her own people; the two line of battle ships greatly damaged. The gallantry of *Colonel Moultrie* in defence of Sullivan's Island is celebrated."

"Sir Peter Parker in his account transmitted to England says, "Not one man who was quartered at the beginning of the action on the *Bristol* quarter-deck escaped being killed or wounded. At the head of the volunteers on board he must place Lord William Campbell, (the late Governor) who was so condescending as to take direction of some gun on the lower gun-deck—he received a contusion in his left side."

June 30.

Major General *John Thomas* of the Massachusetts, who commanded in Canada after the camp at Cambridge broke up, died in Canada. It is but justice due to the memory of this officer to say of him that he had served in former wars against the French and Indians with reputation; and at the siege of Boston, in 1775, he cheerfully took command of a division of the provincials, in defence of the rights of his native country.

* Said to be one hundred and seventy-nine killed, two hundred and sixty wounded.

† The Editor of the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, indulging a little humour in these serious times, inserted the following epigram, on Sir Peter's disaster.

"If honour in the breech is lodg'd,
As *Hudibras* hath shewn,
It may from hence be fairly judg'd,
Sir Peter's honour's gone."

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Arrived at Sandy-hook, (New-York) from Halifax, Sir William Howe and Admiral Shuldham, with upwards of one hundred and forty sail of men of war and transports, having with them about eight thousand troops. The fleet on their passage was joined by six sail of transports, a part of the embarkation from Scotland, which arrived at Boston after the British armament had left it, and were driven from the harbour by the militia, &c.

A part of the Continental army at this time occupied the city and suburbs of New-York.* Major General Greene, with another division of Continentals were stationed on Long-Island.

This day General Sir William Howe, landed his army on Staten Island.

July 2.

Governour William Franklin, who till now had kept his station in the Jerseys, was removed from his government by the *whig* party; they judging it unsafe to the continental interest for his Excellency to be in the neighbourhood of the British. He was sent to reside in Connecticut. This gentleman had previously shewn his good disposition toward the British, and the measures they were pursuing.

A report about this time prevailed, that a plot had been discovered at New-York, in which some *tories* there had associated for the purpose of joining the British army, to assassinate General Washington and some other field officers, while the Continentals were engaged with the enemy, to blow up their magazines, &c. The Mayor of the city and an armourer were taken into custody on suspicion.

Lord Abingdon, an English peer, was on the minority side. He is characterized as "one of the most steady, and intrepid asserters of liberty in this age." He declared in the House of Lords, "The American war is unjust, iniquitous, cruel and oppressive. When the component parts of government (said his Lordship) conspire to oppress the subjects and deprive them of their rights, such a conspiracy is the worst of treasons. The

* *New-York Island is about fourteen miles long, and in some places only one mile wide. The town is situated on the south end of the island, at the mouth of Hudson's river, and the fort is at the extreme point. The narrows are formed by Staten Island and Long Island; the passage about two miles wide. From Sandy Hook up to New York, is about twenty-five miles. Six furlongs east of the fort is Governour's Island, containing about one hundred; or one hundred and twenty acres. Before the war, the city is said to have contained 20,000 inhabitants.*

See "account of the Province of New-York, printed in 1780."

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Americans are not guilty of rebellion; they have been provoked to resistance by the wanton insults of despotic power.

The minority in Parliament were very severe in their remarks on the conduct of their troops at Lexington and Bunker Hill. Howe's forcing the lines thrown up by a handful of raw undisciplined militia, in the course of a summer's night, was ludicrously compared to a Marlborough's victory at Blenheim &c. &c.

July 4.

This day commenced a new *epoch* or *æra* for America. Thirteen of the United Colonies, in Congress assembled at Philadelphia their declaration, that the said thirteen Colonies were "free, sovereign, independent States." And a new empire begins in America in the sixteenth year of the reign of King George the third, and thirty-ninth of his age. This declaration was signed per order of Congress, by their President, John Hancock, Esq. and recites the grievances and oppressions for which they could not obtain redress; and testifies to the world the causes that impelled them to a separation from the crown of Great Britain.

In the introduction to the enumeration of their oppressions Congress say: "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal; that they are endowed, by the Creator, with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. — When a long train of abuses and usurpations pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism—it is their right—it is their duty, to throw off such governments, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies, and such is now the necessity that constrains them to alter their former system of government. "Towards the close of the declaration, after reciting their oppressions in twenty-six articles," they say, "In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms, our repeated petitions, have been answered only by a repeated injury. — A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act, which defines a tyrant, unfit to be the ruler of a free people."

The principal arguments (says a popular writer*) in favour of independency, are drawn from the natural rights of

* Mr. Thomas Paine of Philadelphia, author of *Common Sense*.

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the Colonies to independence, their interest—the necessity of it—and the real advantages arising from it. The necessity of the measure, he argues from the following considerations.

“We had no credit abroad, because of our *rebellious dependency*. Our ships could obtain no protection in foreign ports, because we afforded them no justifiable reason for granting it to us. The calling ourselves subjects, and at the same time fighting against the Prince we acknowledged it was a dangerous precedent to all Europe. If the grievances justified our taking up arms, they justified our separation; if they did not justify our separation, neither could they justify our taking up arms. All Europe was interested in reducing us as rebels, and all Europe (or the greater part, at least) are interested in supporting us in our independent state. At home, our condition was still worse; our currency had no foundation, and the state of it would have ruined whig and tory alike. We had no other laws than a kind of moderated passion; no other civil power than an honest mob; and no other protection than the temporary attachment of one man to another. Had independency been delayed a few months longer, this continent would have been plunged into irretrievable confusion, some violent for it, some against it—all in the greatest cabal—the rich would have been ruined, and the poor destroyed. The necessity of being independent would have brought it on in a little time, had there been no rupture between Britain and America. The increasing importance of commerce—the weight and perplexity of legislation—and the enlarged state of European politics, would daily have shewn to the continent, the impropriety of continuing subordinate: for after the coolest reflection on the matter, this must be allowed, that Britain was too jealous of America to govern it justly, too ignorant of it to govern it well, and too distant from it to govern it at all.”

The King of Portugal, ally to his Britannic Majesty, published at Lisbon an edict “To prohibit protection to *American* ships in his ports, and all intercourse between his dominions and the United Colonies.

July 5.

Congress having recommended to the several States to settle their particular forms of government: The State of Virginia was the first in the Union that complied with the recommendation. They chose *Patrick Henry, Esq.* for their Governour. They left out of the Litany, used in the Episcopal service, all prayers for King George III. and instead thereof substituted sentences or petitions for their own magistrates and commonwealth.

July 6.

[Virginia has about one hundred and eighty miles sea-coast, and is of almost unbounded extent in the country, abounding with a great number of rivers—it dates its begin-

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ning in 1580, and is the *first* settled Colony on the continent—the *first* that reprobated Parliamentary innovations—the *first* that moved for independency, and the *first* that formed a government under it.]

July 10.

Major General Gates by appointment of Congress taken command in the northern department. He gave orders for the troops at Crown Point to retreat to Ticonderoga, and there make a stand.

Independency was publicly declared in the city of Philadelphia. It was also declared at New-York, when they manifested their dislike to royalty by taking down the equestrian statue of his Majesty King George III. erected on the bowling-green in that city.

At Albany, situated on *Hudson's* river, a plot was discovered by the confession of two Tories to set the city on fire and blow up the magazine. Some of the incendiaries being apprehended the intended mischief was prevented.

[The sources of *Hudson's* river are not yet explored: From Albany to Lake George is reckoned sixty-five miles; the river in that interval navigable only for batteaux; the banks on the western side the river are rocky cliffs; floops of fifty tons can go up to Albany, and larger vessels within sixteen or seventeen miles—the river continues fresh, till within sixty miles of New-York.—[“Account of New-York, 1780.”]

July 18.

This day independency was declared in Boston.

A few days after the declaration of independence in New-York, Admiral *Richard Lord Viscount Howe* arrived off the city, to take command of the British fleet, and to act in conjunction with his brother Sir William Howe in the American war. On his arrival, he forwarded letters to all the King's Governours on the Continent, informing them, “That he, together with his brother, General Howe, were authorized by letters patent under the great seal of England, “His Majesty's Commissioners,” with full power to grant pardons to all, or any town, country, district, &c. who may have departed from their allegiance and duty to his Majesty, &c. and who are willing by a speedy return to reap the benefits of the royal favour.”

Colonel Paterfon, Adjutant General of the royal army, was dispatched to General Washington at New-York, with letters from Lord and General Howe; but they not being properly directed, the American General refused to receive them, and politely dismissed the Colonel.

The conduct of General Washington, in this interview with the British Colonel, was approved by Congress, and produced the following resolve: “That he had acted with

dignity becoming his character. That no letters or messages be received, on any occasion whatever, from the enemy, by the Commander in Chief, or others, the Commanders of the American army, but such as shall be directed to them in the characters they respectively sustain."

1776.

On this day Colonel Paterfon had a second interview with General Washington, in which he addressed the General by the title of "Excellency," and apologized (by the commissioners' desire) for any deficiency in point of respect or punctilio, informing him that they had the highest personal regard for Mr. Washington—that they had now sent a letter "To George Washington, Esq. &c. &c. &c." and that they hoped all difficulties were removed, as by the three *et ceteras* might be understood all his Excellency's titles. The Colonel laid down the letter on the table, but General Washington declined to accept it; asking, what powers the General and Lord Howe were invested with, declaring that he had read the last act of Parliament, and found by it, they were merely empowered to grant pardons. He said the Americans had done no wrong, and therefore wanted no pardons. He then mentioned the approbation of Congress of his conduct in the first interview; he could not enter into any new treaty without fresh authority; besides, though it was true that the three *et ceteras* might mean *every* thing, it was also true it might mean *any* thing. After some other conversation in which the Colonel endeavoured to exculpate General Howe from the charge of inhumanity to American prisoners when in Boston, and General Washington had mentioned his indulgence to such of their prisoners as fell into his hands—the conference ended.

July 20.

It appears from a speech of the Earl of Shelburne in Parliament, "That [the powers of the Commissioners] the pretended mercy of conciliation, held out nothing but a naked offer of pardon, on the terms of unconditional submission."

The following extract from his Lordship's speech, shews his opinion of the misapplication of the word "Rebel" with respect to the Colonies. "The Americans, he said, had been represented, as daring, desperate, traitorous, insolent, ungrateful and rebellious; for his part, he could never be persuaded to deem people taking up arms in defence of their property, their privileges and unalienable rights, *rebels*. If such doctrine had prevailed at the time of the revolution, their Lordships would not then probably be sitting in that house. If recognizing a *lawful* authority, though perhaps not a *rightful* authority, is the essence of treason, the whigs of the revolution were *rank* rebels. King James the second was their lawful King; true; he endeavoured to trample upon, and in some in-

1776.

stances did invade their rights, but still if resistance of lawful authority, constituted an act of treason in every possible event, the whigs in 1688, and the provincials now, may be deemed rebels: He would always continue to think that both were a constitutional resistance to a power *originally legal*, but which by the unconstitutional exercise of it, had *degenerated* into the most oppressive stages of an *usurped arbitrary* power. His Lordship said also, that it was his opinion, that the power of regulating the trade of the Colonies, was the very essence of the political connexion between both countries."

Aug. 12.

The first and second division of German troops, hired by the British Parliament to fight in America, about nine thousand arrived at New-York, under General de Heister, and one hundred of the English guards joined General Howe's army.

After the destruction of Norfolk (already mentioned) the Earl of Dunmore, with the King's ships, hovered round the coast of Virginia, and were very troublesome. They were at length driven from it, with the loss of cannon, small arms, baggage and tents, with three tenders.

The enemy burnt two small vessels, and a large ship of their own; on board the latter, his Lordship received a wound in his leg; from the accounts published of the war in Virginia to this time, the enemy lost great numbers of men, not only in battle, but by sickness and other disasters.

Aug. 12.

The last exploits of Lord Dunmore in Virginia were on *Potowmack river*, where he burnt and destroyed all in his power, and left the State. And on

Aug. 13.

Lord Dunmore arrived at *Staten Island* with the remnant of his motley troops, where, a few days before, the General Clinton, Earl Cornwallis, &c. had arrived from South-Carolina, with the remains of Sir Peter Parker's shattered Squadron; having found that climate *too warm* for them to continue in.

Aug. 16.

The Phoenix man of war, and some other of the King's ships infested the *north*, or *Hudson's river*: Two fire ships were sent up the river to destroy them, under command of two gentlemen volunteers, of rank in the Continental army. Though they were not so successful as they wished, they in some measure answered their purpose—they consumed one of the British tenders, and obliged the rest to quit their station and run the gauntlet through a number of well directed shot from the batteries, in and near New-York city and some Continental galleys.

A discovery was made of the perfidy of Lieut. Colonel Zediortz (in the Continental service) carrying on a correspondence with Governour Tryon of New-York. The object of this correspondence, was to obtain a large sum of money to be immediately sent him, upon condition of

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giving the enemy information of the strength and situation of the Continental army, agreeably to a promise he had made Governour Tryon, previous to entering into the American service. He invented this falshood: "That some villains at General Washington's camp, were hired to poison the watering-place at Staten-Island, and were each to receive a recompense of one thousand pounds from the General."

Zedwitz on his trial, owned the letters to be his, but said it was intended merely as a trick to draw from the enemy two thousand pounds sterling, in lieu of expenses he had been at in raising a regiment in Germany, at the request of the Marquis of Granby, for which he had never been reimbursed. His life was saved by a casting vote—but he was broke, and declared incapable of holding any military office in the service of the United States.

The discovery was made by a German, who had the charge of delivering the letter to Governour Tryon, but soon as he got possession of it, laid it before General Washington. According to a list published, the whole British force in America, under General and Lord Howe, at this time as nearly as can be computed, is as follows, viz.

Twenty-five ships of war, two of them 64 guns each, one of 44, the rest bomb ships, frigates and sloops, and upwards of three hundred sail of transports.

General Howe, from Halifax,	8000
Scots Troops (3200) embarked, 850 taken,	2350
Defeated troops under Clinton and Cornwallis, from South-Carolina,	
Two divisions Hessians, Waldeckers and English guards,	9000
Dunmore's Negroes, Tories, and about 50 fighting men,	
	150
	22000
Third division of Hessians expected, about	5000

General Howe now began to remove his army for Staten-Island to *Long-Island*,* where he landed them without any Aug. 22. opposition.

* *Long-Island* is upwards of 120 miles long, contains many towns or settlements—it abounds in wheat and other grain, and cattle of various kinds, is less than two miles distant from New-York.

1776.

Aug. 26.

Aug. 27.

Nathaniel Greene, Esq. of Warwick, Rhode-Island, was now appointed a Major-General in the Continental army, and commanded on Long-Island.

They (the Royalists) began their march through the woods on Long-Island, which about 3000 Continental troops occupied. Having passed on, and stopped up the cross road near the American camp, they surrounded the Continentals in the woods. Lord Stirling* repulsed the enemy before he was surrounded; four different times: When it was found the enemy were greatly superiour in numbers, the General ordered a retreat, and not knowing that the cross road was blocked up, many fell into the hands of the enemy others escaped by wading through creeks, swamps and marshes, to the American encampment. In the skirmish on Long-Island, Lord Stirling and Major-General Sullivan were taken prisoners by the enemy (the latter had liberty to go to Congress upon his parole, to solicit the exchange of himself and Lord Stirling, he was also charged with a message to Congress from Lord Howe) Lieutenant-Colonel Parry, of the Pennsylvania musquetry, was shot dead, while animating his men. The number of Continentals killed wounded and missing, is short of 500, the loss of the enemy is estimated at a much greater number: 840 said to be killed, and a much larger number wounded, 65 prisoners.

Aug. 28.

The British attacked the Continental lines on the Island but were repulsed.

Aug. 29.

General Washington, from the movement of the British fleet, suspected their intention was to cut off the communication between Long-Island and New-York, he therefore meditated the retreat of his troops from the Island, and he undertook and accomplished it with every mark of generalship. This masterly retreat he *personally* conducted, and went over to the Island in the evening of this day, with the boats he had prepared to convey his troops to New-York.

He ordered the brigades to be got in readiness to march at such a time, but they knew not where; and with such secrecy was it conducted, that the three brigades knew not where each other went, till they were all embarked, with their baggage, cannon and military stores, the last coming off early on Friday morning. A fog favoured their evacuation—it was made undiscovered by the British, and

* William Alexander, Esq. of the New-Jersey forces. In the year 1755 he attended Gen. Shirley in his expedition to Niagara in quality of Secretary. He laid in a claim to the title of Earl of Stirling, his ancestor, had that title, and grant of Nova-Scotia, anno 1621.

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whole Continental force was landed safely on New-York. At the same time, the Continentals evacuated Governour's Island without annoyance from the enemy. On both islands were left only six pieces of cannon.

The British on Long Island opened a battery and began Sept. 8. a cannonade on the fortifications at Hell-Gate, which was returned with spirit.

The purport of Lord Howe's message to Congress by Gen. Sullivan, was, "That his Lordship could not treat with Congress as such, yet he was very desirous of having a conference with some of the members whom he would consider at that time only as private gentlemen, and meet them himself as such, in such place as they should appoint, &c.

Upon receiving Lord Howe's message, Congress resolved, "That Gen. Sullivan be requested to inform his Lordship, that the Congress being the representatives of the free and independent States of America, could not, with propriety, send any of its members to confer with his Lordship in their private characters, but that, ever desirous of establishing peace upon reasonable terms, they would send a committee of their body to know whether he had any authority to treat with persons authorized by Congress for that purpose, in behalf of America, and what that authority was, and to hear such propositions as he should think proper to make respecting the same. "In compliance with the above resolution, Congress made choice of three of their members for the purpose therein mentioned, viz. Dr. Benjamin Franklin, of Philadelphia, John Adams, Esq. of Boston, and Edward Rutledge, Esq. of Charleston, South-Carolina." These gentlemen had an interview with Lord Howe on Staten-Island; and when the conference Sept. 11. was over, they returned to Congress, and reported the conversation they had with him, the substance of which is, "That his Lordship entered into discourse of considerable length, but it contained no explicit proposition of peace, except one, viz. that the Colonies should return to their allegiance, and obedience to the government of Great-Britain, and intimated, that upon such submission, the government of Great-Britain would cause the offensive acts of Parliament to be revised, and the instructions to Governours to be reconsidered, that so if any just causes of complaint were found in the acts, or any errors in government were perceived to have crept into the instructions, they might be amended or withdrawn." The Committee gave it as their opinion to his Lordship, "that a return to the domination of Great-Britain was not now to be expected—they mentioned their petitions being treated with contempt, and with additional injuries—their patience—that it was not till the last

1776.

act of Parliament which declared war against us, and put us out of the King's protection, that we declared our independence, which had been called for by the people of the Colonies in general, and approved of by every Colony who now considered themselves as independent States; and were settling or had settled their governments accordingly. So that it was not in the power of Congress, to agree for them, that they should return to their former dependent state. That his Lordship might sooner obtain fresh powers from Britain, than powers could be obtained by Congress, from the several States, to consent to a submission." His Lordship then saying, "That he was sorry to find that no accommodation was like to take place," put an end to the conference.

It did not appear to the committee (as they reported) that his Lordship's commission contained any other authority of importance than what is expressed in the act of Parliament, viz. "That of granting pardons, with such exceptions as the commissioners should think proper to make. And of declaring America, or any part of it, in the King's peace, upon submission; " For as to the power of enquiring into the state of America, which his Lordship mentioned to them, and of conferring and consulting with any persons the Commissioners might think proper, and representing the result of such conversation to the ministry, who, provided the Colonies would subject themselves, might after all, or might not, at their pleasure, make any alteration in the former instructions to Governours, or propose in Parliament any amendment of the acts complained of. They apprehended any expectations from the effects of such a power, would have been too uncertain and precarious to be relied on by America, had she still continued in her state of dependence.

Sept. 15.

On Sunday morning, a large body of the British troops landed at Haerlem eight miles east of, New-York city, and at Turtle-bay, on the same side, four miles nearer.

General Washington having concluded to abandon the city as it was not tenable, his troops had orders to retreat as far as Mount Washington, and there to make a stand. General Howe's army then took possession of the city. They effected this under a heavy cannonade of their shipping, and with a design to cut off the Continental troops in the city under General Putnam; but they escaped, and marched to the west side of the island, and joined the main body, about nine miles above the city.

Sept. 19.

The British Commissioners finding it was the opinion of the Committee of Congress, that the United States could not relinquish the independency they had lately proclaimed, published their declaration to the inhabitants at large, in

which they recommend to them. "To reflect seriously upon their present conduct and expectations, and to judge for themselves, whether it is more consistent with their honour and happiness, to offer up their lives as a sacrifice to the unjust and precarious cause in which they are engaged, or to return to the allegiance, accept the blessings of peace, and be secured in the free enjoyment of their liberties, and properties."

The declaration had no effect with the people at large. Their delegates in Congress had already recommended the best means they could devise, for the safety and future prosperity of the States. And the people had no disposition to counteract their resolves and declarations; but on the contrary, heartily adopted them, and acted conformably thereto. They could not give up their freedom, and return to that submission and allegiance, which the Kings Commissioners held up to them as the condition of peace.

The next day after the Commissioners had published their declaration, and five days after the British had taken possession of the city of New-York, a fire broke out in that capital, which consumed some of its most superb buildings, and was attended with great violence.

By a flag that came to General Washington's lines a few days after, they had information that some persons who were suspected of being American emissaries, had occasioned this disaster, that they had been cruelly treated by the enemy, only on bare suspicion.

The Continentals made an attempt to surprize a guard of the enemy on Montefors's Island, in which a promising young officer. Major Thomas Henley (a native of Charlestown, Massachusetts) was killed; his activity and zeal for the service is applauded, which engaged him to push forward in the first and only boat that landed his men, the others having failed in duty, and probably prevented their success.

The *Cherokee* and *Creek* Indians began about this time to be troublesome to the Southern States of Georgia and South-Carolina; instigated thereto, it was strongly suspected, by the King's superintendant of Indian affairs; but they paid dearly for it, some of the *Cherokee* towns were destroyed by the Carolinians, and many Indians captivated and killed.

A peace was afterwards concluded, upon their ceding a considerable tract of land to the State of South-Carolina.

The troops raised in the several States, and which composed the Continental army, were enlisted only for a certain number of months. At the expiration of which, they were discharged and new enlistments made. This method being found to be very injurious to the service,

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Sept. 23.

1776.

Congress resolved "to raise a standing army, to consist of about seventy-five thousand men, to serve for the term of three years, or during the war."

Their respective quotas to be as follows, viz.

	Batt's.		Batt's.
New-Hampshire	3	Delaware	1
Massachusetts	15	Maryland	8
Rhode-Island	2	Virginia	15
Connecticut	8	North-Carolina	9
New-York	4	South-Carolina	6
New-Jersey	4	Georgia	1
Pennsylvania	12.		

Sept.

And as an encouragement to engage in the service, beside a bounty of twenty dollars for each man, over and above their wages, and allowance of rations, they were to have lands bestowed on them, at the conclusion of the war. The officers, in proportion to their respective ranks, from five hundred to two hundred acres, and the non-commission officers and soldiers, one hundred acres each.* These lands to be provided by the United States, and the expense borne by them, as the other expenses of the war. Their pay to be as follows:

	Dollars.
A Colonel, per month	75
Lieutenant Colonel	60
Major	50
Chaplain	33 1-3
Surgeon	33 1-3
Surgeon's Mate	18
Adjutant	40
Quarter-Master	27 1/2
Regiment Pay-Master	26 2-3
Captain	40
Lieutenant	27
Ensign	20
Serjeant-Major	9
Quarter-Master-Serjeant	9
Drum-Major	8
File-Major	8 1-3
Serjeant	8
Corporal	7 1-3
Drummer and Fifer	7 1-3
Privates	6 2-3

* By an after resolve, Congress extended the donation of lands to general officers, viz. a Major-General 1100 acres, a Brigadier-General 750 acres.

The two Continental Generals taken on Long-Island, viz. Major General Sullivan and Lord Stirling, returned to the American camp, being exchanged for General Prescott, taken at St. John's, and Governour Mountfort Browne, Esq. of New-Providence. 1776.
 October.

The plan of a *standing* army being settled by Congress, the state of the Continental *paper currency* came under their consideration. To support the credit of it, and stop the depreciation, which was the consequence of the large sums issued, they determined to make no more emissions for a time; and as the means to answer the exigencies of the States, they proposed to borrow money of the possessors, on interest, for which purpose they passed the following resolves, viz.

"That five millions of Continental dollars be immediately borrowed for use of the United States of America, at the annual interest of four per cent.*

"That the faith of the United States be pledged to the lenders, for the payment of the sums to be borrowed, and the interest arising thereon. That a certificate† be given to the lender witnessed by the Continental Treasurer, and countersigned by the Commissioner of the office who receives it.

"That for the convenience of the lenders, Loan Offices be established in each of the United States, and a Commissioner to superintend said office, be appointed by the said States respectively, who are to be responsible for the faithful discharge of their duties in said offices; said Commissioners to be entitled to receive one eighth per cent. on all monies which shall be brought to their respective offices, &c.

Besides the troops left at Ticonderoga, in June last, under Major-General Gates; Brigadier-General Arnold, and General Waterbury had command of a fleet of Gondolas, on Lake Champlain, and on the 11th and 12th of this month had an engagement with the enemy; and in a subsequent battle, was obliged to yield to superiour force, and leave them masters of the lake. Oct. 19.

Major-General Lee having returned from South-Carolina, he joined the main body of the Continental army, at their head quarters at Haerlem.

The British regain possession of Crown Point, to which place General Carlton repaired, after the battle on the lake. Oct. 20.

* The interest was afterwards altered to six per cent.

† Congress resolved, "That the interest due on loan-office certificates issued to the first of March 1777, shall be paid by bills of exchange on the Commissioners of the States in Paris, at the rate of five livres for one Spanish milled dollar, or in Continental bills, at the option of the lenders.

1777.

October.

A party of about 100 Tories, commanded by Major Rogers, in a skirmish with some Continentals, were entirely routed, twenty killed, and a considerable number taken prisoners.

This month Congress came into some resolutions respecting the Continental navy, and to make it respectable, they resolved, "That no private ships or vessels of war, merchant ships, and other vessels belonging to the subjects of these States, be permitted to wear pendants when in company with Continental ships or vessels of war, without leave from the commanders thereof. That if the merchant ship or vessel transgress in this respect, the commander of the Continental vessel be authorized to take away the pendant from the offenders—and that if any private vessel of war, refuse to pay the respect due to the Continental ships, the commander for refusing shall lose his commission—" That the rank of officers be the same as officers of similar commissions in the land force"—That the commanders, officers &c. in the Continental navy, be entitled to *one half* of merchant-men, transports and store-ships, by them taken, from and after the first day of November, 1776, and that they be entitled to the *whole* value of all ships and vessels of war, belonging to the crown of Great Britain, by them made prize of; and all privateers authorized by his Britannic Majesty to war against these States. And as encouragement to serve in the Continental navy, Congress passed a subsequent Resolve, "That a bounty of twenty dollars be paid to the commander, officers and men, of such Continental ships or vessels of war, that shall make prize of any British vessels of war, for every cannon mounted on board such prize at the time of such capture, and eight dollars per head, for every man then on board and belonging to such prize.*

General Burgoyne having withdrawn the troops that he for a short space occupied Lake Champlain, and its neighbourhood. About the middle of November, Sir Guy Carleton, also, with the whole force he had at Crown Point, quitted it, and General Gates informed Congress, that he had sent a detachment to beat up the enemy's quarters at the advanced posts, but found they had abandoned them.

A letter of this date, from General Howe to Lord George Germaine, gives the following account of the movements of his army, after they landed on New-York, to this time.

* By order of Congress, the flags of the United States thirteen stripes, alternately red and white; and their union thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation.

1776.

"He attempted (he says) to open the principal communication to Connecticut, and to force the Continental troops from the post they occupied in the neighbourhood of Kings-bridge, and in prosecution of this plan, his troops passed with their boats, through Hell-Gate, taking the advantage of a thick fog to prevent discovery, and the 12th of October landed on Frog-neck, near the town of West-Chester, a frigate being placed to cover the descent.

"Lieutenant General Earl Piercy remained, with two brigades, of British, and one of Hessians, in the lines near Haerlem, to cover New-York [city.] They remained in this situation five days, waiting for stores and provisions. They then re-embarked. A part passed round Frog-Neck, and landed at Pitt's Point, the mouth of the river. The main body then, crossed over to the same place, on the creek, opposite to East-Chester, and a part advanced near to Rochelle. On their march to this ground a skirmish ensued. The 21st of October, the right and center of his army moved to the northward of Rochell, on the road to White-Plains, leaving Lieutenant General de Heister, to occupy the former ground. Lieutenant Colonel Rogers, with his corps of Rangers, were sent to take possession of Mare-Neck. Upon these movements General Washington detached a corps to White-Plains, and moved his army from their station at Kings-bridge, extending their force behind the Brunx, from Valentine hills to White-Plains, in detached camps, covering the upper communication with Connecticut, and the road along the North River. His (Howe's) army then moved, the 28th, on to White-Plains, in two columns, commanded by Lieutenant Generals Clinton, and de Heister (the latter being ordered from his former post, to join the main body) Lieutenant General Kniphausen having established his post, on the York side of King's-bridge, within cannon-shot of Fort-Washington. This post, with Fort-Lee, on the opposite shore of Jersey, kept the command of the navigation of the North River, and barred the communication with New-York, by land. They prepared to attack it, and with thirty boats, passed the North River on the night of the 14th of November, and on the 15th, in the evening, Adjutant-General Paterfoni was sent to summons Fort Washington to surrender. Fort-Lee was the next object, for the entire command of North River, and a ready road to penetrate the Jerseys. It was taken by Lord Cornwallis, who advanced with the main body, and on the 24th of November, took possession of Newark [in the Jerseys.]"

The Continental accounts furnish the following particulars, relative to the contents of General Howe's letter.

Nov:

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"About the middle of October, the British troops that were landed at Frog's-Point, about eighteen miles S. E. of New-York bridge, pushed forward with great expedition towards the bridge leading from the point to the main. But a body of Continental rifle men being stationed near it, took up the bridge, and impeded their progress. The British were reinforced, and a large body was landed at Rodman's Point. Major General Lee sent a small party to attack them, and to retreat back to the place where he was, with a large body in the front, and another in a flanking party: they obeyed the orders of the General, and the enemy followed them till they came within fifty yards of General Lee, till then undiscovered; his troops gave them a very heavy fire, which put them into confusion; upon which the flanking party played upon them so warmly, that they only gave one or two fires and retreated. This is probably the skirmish General Howe mentions they had in their way to East-Chester and Rochelle. General Howe's main body at East-Chester, extended towards Connecticut, as far as New-Rochelle, making a formidable front, of several miles in length on the sound, attempting to outflank General Washington. Some of their small parties advanced as far as Mare-Neck—the two armies at this time about two miles distant from each other—York-Island, still in possession of the Continental troops, with a garrison under General Putnam. The enemy having advanced in great numbers, near to White-Plains.* General Lee, with a body of Continentals, were detached to attack them. They fought smartly for about an hour, in which time one hundred and fifty of his men were killed and wounded—and a considerable number of the enemy fell in the action. An eminence near, and N. W. of White-Plains, was disputed, and at last parted with, at a Bunker-hill price.

The loss of the British at White-Plains and near it, by their own account, is three hundred and fifty killed, four hundred and seventy wounded, two hundred taken prisoners. As the ground near the centre of this town was overlooked by adjacent hills, the troops occupying it were insecure. The Continental Generals therefore drew off most of their troops from the lines there.

The British that were encamped there, struck their tents and removed. Some prisoners, and two baggage waggons, fell into the hands of the Continentals on their retiring from that place.

* About thirty miles from New-York city.

the American War.

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Nov.

Fort-Washington, on the island of New-York, which had been attempted twice before, was now reduced by the British. The Hessians began the attack, and approached the lines, within point blank shot, when they suffered greatly, being cut down in whole ranks by the defenders, but they being supported by a body of British, and the place from which the garrison had been supplied with water, being in possession of the enemy, the besieged found the fort was not capable of defence, and the besiegers refusing the terms offered by Colonel Magaw, he was obliged to surrender at discretion on the 15th of November. The enemy's account of their loss in attacking the lines, was 900 killed; another account says 1500 wounded; also, the garrison had 400 killed, and 1600 made prisoners, being their whole number.

After this business was accomplished, the British landed a large body of troops on the Jersey-shore, and proceeded to Fort-Lee, opposite Fort-Washington, which not being tenable, and (as a person then on the spot related) the Continentals were exceedingly cramped, the place being on a narrow neck of land, between North River, and the Hackinsack, and their force inconsiderable. Major-General Greene who commanded there, thought proper to withdraw and abandon the fort, the 20th of the month, when it fell into the hands of Lord Cornwallis.*

The royal army having now entered the Jerseys, an action took place the 28th of the same month, between some of the Pennsylvania militia, and a body of the enemy, who were repeatedly repulsed, in attempting to cross the river at Aquinac-bridge.

Congress came into a resolution to set on foot a Lottery, for the purpose of raising a sum of money for the use of the United American States, to bear an annual interest of four per cent. to be applied for carrying on the necessary war. Agreeably to the scheme, the Lottery consisted of four classes, of one hundred thousand tickets each, subject to a deduction of fifteen per cent. at the price of ten, twenty, thirty, forty dollars for a ticket in each class. The highest prizes, ten thousand, twenty thousand, thirty thousand dollars, and the fourth and last class, fifty thousand dollars; and not one blank and an half to a prize. The fortunate adventurers, who should draw more than thirty or forty dollars, in the first, second and third classes, were to receive a treasury bank note, payable at the end of five years, and an annual interest of four per cent—the drawers of fifty dollars into the fourth

Nov.

* Before they abandoned the fort, they killed of the enemy twenty, and wounded thirty-five.

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class to receive their money immediately, without any deduction; and all who drew more, to have bank treasury notes without deduction—the interest to commence from the last day of drawing.

December. This month is replete with many memorable events. General Howe having formed a design to make a descent on *Rhode-Island* State, detached a part of his force, the first of this month, to gain possession of *Newport* Island, the capital.

Commodore Sir Peter Parker, having with him about seventy sail of transports, arrived in *Newport* harbour, eight days after. The troops were landed under direction of Captain Caulfield (of the Commodore's ship, who had command of the flat-boats.) He immediately took possession of the Island, no resistance being made—many of the inhabitants being loyalists, received them gladly. General Clinton, Earl Piercy, Major-General Prescott and Lord William Campbell, were on this expedition. The number of troops was between five and six thousand, among whom were some light horse, a number of Hessians, &c.

A large body of militia were collected at *Providence*, and the towns adjacent, to prevent their penetrating the main, if they had attempted it.

December. The affairs of the United States at this period, wore a discouraging aspect. Major-General Gates had not yet returned from the northern department, and Major-General Lee, with a division of Continentals, was at *Morristown* at a distance from the American camp. The Continental troops were now reduced to a small number, the time of the enlistment of the greater part had expired, and they could not be prevailed on to continue till their places could be supplied with new levies; these circumstances were not unknown to the enemy. Their late success at *Fort-Washington* and *Lee* and at *Newport*, together with the present state of the Continental army, and their having got possession of *Brantwick*, in the *Jersies*, gave them the most flattering prospect of accomplishing their designs, and vanquishing the Continental forces. General Washington thought proper now to retire from the *Hackinsack*. Howe's troops made a forced march to come up with the Continentals; they had got within two miles of *Princetown*, when Lord Stirling began his retreat. General Washington, finding he could not maintain his ground in the *Jersies*, with his little army, he prudently determined to cross the *Delaware*. Boats from every quarter were provided, and the Continental troops and stores conveyed over the *Delaware*.

General Washington taking his quarters within a mile of the river, it was the design of General Howe to have pu

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sued them with his troops, and entirely to rout and break up the Continental army, but was prevented from the pursuit, by the precaution of General Washington, who, upon leaving the Jerseys, had ordered all the boats left on that shore to be destroyed. General Howe, in a letter to Lord George Germaine, of the 20th of this month, informs him, "that the first division of his troops advancing to Trenton, reached the Delaware soon after General Washington's rear guard had crossed it." The royalists could proceed no farther. *December.*

The royalists being informed that General Lee was at a house in Baskenridge, in New-Jersey, three or four miles distant from his corps. Colonel Harcourt was sent with a detachment of dragoons. They having arrived at the house, fired a great number of shot into it, and the General finding no means of escape, surrendered himself to the party. *Dec. 13.*

They mounted him on a horse, and rode off with him in triumph, and in such haste, they could not allow him time to get his cloak and hat, and conveyed him to New-York.*

From Colonel Woodford's account of an action he had with a party of the royalists, near the *Great-Bridge*, Williamsburgh, *Virginia*, the following is collected: A deserter, says the Colonel, has completely taken in his Lordship (Cornwallis.) He informed them that not more than three hundred shirtmen (riflemen) were there. *Dec. 15.*

Captain Leslie with all the regulars, about two hundred, was dispatched, with about three hundred black and white slaves, and crossed the bridge in the morning, when the Colonel's men had just got under arms. Lieutenant Batset commanded the advanced party, and Captain Fordyce, of the grenadiers, led the van with his company, and had the misfortune to fall in the action which ensued—who for his conduct and bravery (the Colonel says) deserved a better fate, as well as the brave fellows who fell with him, who behaved like heroes.

They marched up to the breast works with fixed bayonets, but the fire against them was so well directed, as to occasion great carnage amongst them. None of the blacks in the rear with Lieutenant Leslie advanced further than the bridge, near which they had a fort. Colonel Woodford's victory was complete. The enemy carried off their dead and wounded, and two pieces of cannon, under cover of the guns of the fort. Colonel Woodford took prisoner Lieutenant Batset, the commander, and sixteen privates, all wounded, thirty-five stand of arms, and accoutrements, three officers' fuses, powder, ball cartridges, &c.

* There he remained till March or April, 1778, when he was exchanged for General Prescott, taken at Newport.

1776

This, the Colonel says, was a second Bunker-hill affair in miniature, with this difference, that we kept our post, and had only one man wounded in the hand.

December.

The royal army now in possession of the Jerseys, were scattered on the banks of the river, and occupied many of the towns—flushed with their late successes, and anticipating the total destruction of the Continental army—but a surprising reverse of fortune we shall presently see takes place. Lord Cornwallis went to New-York with a design, it was said, to embark for England; and Major-General Vaughan had command of the troops in the Jerseys. A writer, before cited, takes notice of the retreat over the Delaware, and says, “That both officers and men, though greatly harrassed and fatigued, frequently without rest, covering, or provision (the inevitable consequences of a long retreat) bore it with a martial and manly spirit, all their wishes were one which was that the country would turn out, and help them to drive the enemy back.” He then applies to General Washington, a remark of Voltaire’s, on King William “That he never appeared to full advantage, but in difficulties and in action.” The application of this remark will be allowed to be just, if the critical situation of the American General, is taken into view, and the wisdom and magnanimity he discovered at this very important crisis.

The Villagers in the Jerseys suffered greatly by the enemy’s troops, ravaging, plundering, and offering great incencies to the female inhabitants. The following is related with such circumstances as to gain full credit: “A farmer near Woodbridge, hearing the cries of his daughter, rushed into the room, and found an Hessian officer attempting to ravish her, in a fit of rage he killed the officer; but the poor man was ungenerously wounded by the officer’s party who came up soon after.”*

Dec. 19.

The King’s Commissioners, at New-York, now tried the force of another proclamation, which this day made its appearance. It mentions the terms on which they would grant pardons, and limits the time—and in a high authoritative tone, charges, and commands all who were assembled in arms against his Majesty, to disband—and all under the names of General or Provincial Congresses, Committees, Conventions, &c. to desist from their treasonable practices and relinquish their usurped power, within sixty days from the date of the proclamation—and to subscribe a declaration to remain peaceably, not to take up arms, nor encourage others. Upon compliance with the above, they were to receive a full and free pardon.

* William Smith, of Smith’s farm, near Woodbridge, is said to be this unfortunate man.

This proclamation had no effect—it was occasioned by the apparently forlorn state of the Continental army at this time. The States were not conscious of any treason they had been guilty of, unless defending their liberties and properties, against invasion, could be deemed such; besides, the proclamation proceeded from an authority, the whole continent had already abjured—and notwithstanding the dark appearances on the side of the States, they trusting in the justice of their cause—we do not find any who complied with the haughty demand of the proclamation.

Congress were apprehensive that the royal army would pay a visit to Philadelphia, and taking into consideration the religious tenets of a great many of the inhabitants denominated Quakers, which would not allow of their taking up arms, and which had been a great clog to the military operations of the Pennsylvanians—they judged it proper to lay before the people, the hazard that would attend the success of the enemy, and getting into their capital; for this purpose Congress ordered hand-bills to be struck off, and circulated through the State, to rouse them to a sense of their danger, and the defence of their property, and to convince the Continent that *one spirit actuated the whole*.

This address had a good effect in the southern States, they were excited thereby to more vigorous exertions.

The Philadelphians at this crisis, thought it prudent to suspend their private business, secure their effects, and provide for their common safety. Congress removed to Baltimore in the State of Maryland, about 120 miles below Philadelphia.) And

General Washington entered upon the execution of a very important plan, and almost a desperate one, to check the intended progress of the enemy, and to raise the spirits of his little army. This celebrated General, had not, at this juncture, under his immediate command, more than 2500, or 3000 men, to oppose a victorious army, of thrice the number; yet with this handful of men, he baffled the designs of Howe's large army, and prevented his carrying them into effect at this time, by a judicious and well timed manœuvre.

An advanced party of the enemy being quartered at Trenton, General Washington concerted a plan to surprise them, and in order to accomplish it, he re-crossed the Delaware, and landed on the Jersey shore, early in the morning, of the 26th of this month, with about twenty-four hundred men,*

* An intelligent officer, who was in the action, informed the compiler of this Journal, there was 2250, of which 1600 were Continental regulars.

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December.

1776. among whom were some companies of artillery, with eight
 Dec. 26. teen field pieces: They formed into two divisions; the one
 commanded by Major-General Sullivan, the other by Major-General Greene, and the whole, by his Excellency General Washington. The attack began at seven o'clock, by the vanguard of Sullivan's division, who attacked the Hessian advanced guard, about a mile from the town, which they soon drove, when the whole pushed, with the utmost vigour, for the town, which they immediately entered. General Greene's division attacked the town on the other side, at the same time; fifteen minutes decided the action in favour of the Continentals, and the enemy threw down their arms. The Continental troops, finding many of their guns would not go off, owing to their being exposed to a violent storm of snow and rain, for six hours, they charged their bayonets and giving three cheers, rushed with impetuosity on the Hessians.

By General Washington's account to Congress, "the royal force at Trenton were, three Hessian battallions, von Landspatch, Kniphausen, and Rahl, and a party of British light horse, all under the command of Colonel Rahl, who died of his wounds soon after the action." Fifty were killed and 948 made prisoners, among whom were 30 Commissioners.* The Continentals also gained six brass cannon (two of them 12 pounders) 1200 small arms, seven standards, and other trophies, a large quantity of military music, baggage &c. &c. On the side of the Continentals not more than 20 were killed and wounded.

General Washington gave the Hessians all their baggage and sent them to the western counties of Pennsylvania, unsearched. The *generosity* of the General, so contrary to the conduct of the enemy on similar occasions, excited in the breasts a veneration for their amiable conqueror, whom they styled "*a very good rebel*."

The royal troops at Bordentown soon had the alarm which was communicated to all their parties along the river. After they had remained under arms for some time, instead of marching to oppose the Continentals, they retired, and left them to take possession of Bordentown, Mount Holly and Burlington.

* The royalists account is, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Thirty-five killed,} \\ \text{Sixty wounded,} \\ \text{948 made prisoners.} \end{array} \right.$

Total, 1048.

* The
 Jefferson
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December.

The action at Trenton, and its attendant consequences, changed the scene, and gave a sudden turn to appearances in favour of the United States.

Congress conferred on their Generalissimo more ample powers, and appointed him *Dictator*, for the *limited* term of six months; to reform and new model the military arrangements, in such manner as he judged best for the public service.

Soon after the declaration of Independence, Congress appointed the following Commissioners on behalf of the States, viz. Benjamin Franklin, who arrived there this month, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee,* Esqrs. to manage their affairs in France and Spain, to cultivate an acquaintance with them, and procure their friendship, and some other of the European powers, and to give them a right understanding of the nature of the controversy, between Great Britain and the United States of America. These gentlemen happily succeeded in their commission, and procured supplies of such warlike, and other articles, as were necessary for the States; not from the Court of France (they not having yet interfered) but from the *Merchants*, by their agreements with the Commissioners.

Their negotiations in France, were viewed by Lord Stormont, the British Ambassador there, with a jealous eye; and to prevent their further success, he presented a memorial to that Court. "He hoped (he said) his Most Christian Majesty would so far extend his neutrality and friendship, as to prohibit the merchants in his dominions, from affording assistance of America (with whom they now trade openly) such succours as have hitherto been furnished. Above all, he hopes, that Messrs. Deane and Franklin, may be restrained in their measures, which have been gradually unfolded, as to become less and less equivocal. The papers annexed to this memorial (says his Lordship) will amply display the nature of the progress of Mr. Deane's negotiation, that after perusal, it might reasonably be expected, that he should be delivered up." But the Court of France did not meddle in this mercantile business.

After General Washington's success at Trenton, he passed again over the Delaware, into Philadelphia, with the prisoners, cannon, &c. he had taken.

The success of the Continentals, at the close of the last year, was followed with another victory in their favour, at the opening of this. The vigilant Washington, improved

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Jan. 2.

* The latter gentleman was chosen in the room of Mr. Jefferson, who declined going to France, at this time.

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January.

Jan. 3.

the advantage he had just now gained, and "having received reinforcements from Virginia, Maryland, and the militia of Pennsylvania, he repassed the Delaware into Jersey."

Lord Cornwallis having deferred his voyage to England, returned from New-York to the Jerseys; and being informed that General Washington was posted at Trenton, he advanced towards the town, and General Washington, in the night, marched off his troops, towards Princetown, and joined in with the 17th and 55th regiments, on their march to join Brigadier-General Leslie, at Maidenhead. On the third, an action commenced between them, in which the Continentals were victorious, and according to General Howe's own account, "the loss to his Majesty's troops, is seventeen killed, and nearly two hundred wounded and missing. Captain Leslie of the 17th is among the few killed." (Another account has it, seventy-four killed, which appears more probable)—The Continental account greatly exceeds the above; the killed and prisoners, they reckon, about five hundred—it also mentions their taking some field pieces, blankets, stores, waggons, &c. General Howe acknowledged *one* regiment, viz. the 17th, could not stand the ground; and that *two* others, the 55th, and 40th retired to Brunswick, where they were collecting their force. On the side of the Continentals, they have to regret the loss of a valuable gallant officer, *Brigadier-General Mercer*, of Virginia, who commanded the southern militia. A spectator of his remains, at Philadelphia (where they were interred with military honours) gave the following account to the public: "His body, covered with wounds and mangled, was exposed to public view, and after he had surrendered himself, the enemy, deaf to the voice of humanity, and the law of nations, stabbed him with their bayonets, and with the butt end of a musket, battered and disfigured his face."

The above action was within three miles of Princetown, whither General Washington went, but soon quitted it with his troops, by way of Kingstown, breaking down the bridges behind them, and crossed the Mill-stone river. Upon finding this, Lord Cornwallis retired to Brunswick. Some other of the royal troops, under Major-General Vaughan, assembled at Elizabeth-town; but they abandoned it the 7th of the month, when some Waldeckers, Highlanders, and some baggage waggons, fell into the hands of

* So General Howe, writes, to Lord George Germaine, the 5th of January.

† See his letter of January 5th, to Lord George Germaine, printed in the public papers.

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Jan. 23.

the Continentals). The royalists were in possession only of Perth, Amboy, and Brunswick, in the Jerseys. General Washington, by the battle near Princetown, and his well judged movements, gained great advantages of the enemy.

Lieutenant-Colonel Parker, of the 6th Virginia regiment, had an action with an escort of 600 royalists, of the 28th and 37th regiments; in the attack, their commander, Colonel Preston, was killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Parker, not being properly supported, was obliged to retreat, after having killed of the enemy twenty-five, and wounded about forty. This escort was moving from Brunswick to Amboy.

A few loyalists belonging to the southern States, having signed a declaration of fidelity to the King, &c. and engaged not to take up arms against him, nor encourage others to do it, General Washington issued a proclamation of this date, requiring such persons, to repair to his head quarters, at Morristown, or to the quarters of the nearest general officer, (still further notice could be taken of it, by civil authority) to take oaths of allegiance to the United States, or to withdraw themselves and families within the enemy's lines, and if not complied with in thirty days, they would be considered as enemies to the States, and treated as such.

Jan. 25.

General Dickinson defeated a party of about 500, took 40 waggons, upwards of 100 horses, and some sheep and cattle they had collected. This was performed by a body of militia, near Somerset court-house, on Millstone river. General Washington by letter, informed Congress, that this action reflected the highest honour on General Dickinson; for, though his were all raw troops, he led them through the river, middle deep, and gave the enemy so severe a charge, that, although supported by three field pieces, they gave way, and left their convoy.

Jan. 26.

The *Marquis de la Fayette* arrived this month, at Charleston (S. C.) from France, and immediately engaged in the Continental service.

Mr. Thomas Townshend (in debate on an answer to the King's speech delivered in January) expressed himself thus, in the House of Commons: "We have put the Colonies totally out of our protection. We have forbid them the exercise of every trade but that of arms, and have, by these means, forced them to take up their arms, and use them against ourselves. We profess to involve the innocent subjects of America with the guilty—our restrictions did not only deprive them of trade, but even of food—Are we to wonder at their declaring themselves independent?"

Feb. 10.

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Feb. 13.

A small party of Continentals stationed at Quibbletown, in the Jerseys, was attacked by a large body of the royalists from Brunswick; Colonel Scott, their commander, having retreated with them about a mile, was reinforced from Lord Stirling's division, with four peices of cannon, when they renewed the action, and forced the enemy to retire, leaving 300 dead on the field, and took about 100 prisoners.

Feb. 16.

A skirmish took place in New-York State, near King's bridge, between a party of Continentals and a party of royalists, in which a few were killed and wounded on both sides; among the killed was one Captain, and two Lieutenants of the royalists. The next morning, the Continental guard-house was surrounded by the royalists, when the Continentals took some of them prisoners.

Feb. 17.

The British government had in contemplation a plan, to send American prisoners in their possession, to the East-Indies, from whence it is probable they would never have returned; but it was, for some reasons, laid aside.

The American *Piracy* bill, proposed by Lord North, and brought into the House of Commons by Lord George Germaine, was passed by Parliament this day, by a majority of 77. It enabled the King to secure and detain persons charged with high treason in America, or for piracy on the high seas, &c. Such persons as were taken in American armed vessels, on the high seas, are by this act deemed *pirates*; and such as are taken in arms in the Colonies, are deemed *traitors*; and to be kept in custody, without bail or mainprize until the first day of January, 1788, and not to be tried before, without orders from the Privy Council.*

Feb. 21.

The following circumstance, was the foundation of the disputes, between England and Holland: Sir Joseph Yorke, the British Ambassador, in Holland, presented a memorial to the States General, complaining of the conduct of the *Sieur de Graaf*, the Dutch Governour of St. Eustatius, for daring to continue at the arming of *American* vessels in St. Eustatius; and for permitting the capture of an English vessel, by an *American pirate*, under the guns of his fort, and that he had, from a principal fort, returned a salute to the *rebel* colours, &c. The English Ambassador demanded of the States General, a formal disavowal of the salute, and the immediate dismissal of the Governour de Graaf. This memorial was ill received by their High-Mightinesses. They gave the Ambassador a *laconic* answer; and resolved to demand satisfaction for the affront offered them, and ordered an equipment of a number of their ships of war.

* See Mr. Burke's remarks on this act, printed in public papers.

General Maxwell, in the Jerseys, with about 1400, chiefly militia, obliged a large foraging party of the royalists to retreat, with the loss of a considerable number, killed and wounded.

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Feb. 23.

Governour Livingston, in a speech to the General Assembly of *New-Jersey*, represents the violence and rapine of the royalists, in that State: "They have (he says) plundered friends and foes; effects, capable of division, they have divided; such as were not, they have destroyed: They have warred upon decrepid old age, warred upon defenceless youth; they have committed hostilities against the professors of literature, and the ministers of religion; against public records and private monuments, books of improvement, and papers of curiosity; and against the arts and sciences: They have butchered the wounded, asking for quarter, mangled the dead, weltring in their blood, refused to the dead, the rites of sepulchre, suffered prisoners to perish for want of sustenance; violated the chastity of women, disfigured private dwellings of taste and elegance; and, in the rage of impiety and barbarism, profaned edifices dedicated to Almighty God."

Feb. 28.

The following is an extract from Mr. *Galloways* reply, to observations of General Howe, published in England:

"All and more than I have said, in my letters to a nobleman, respecting indiscriminate and excessive plunder, is known to thousands within the British lines, and to a number of gentlemen now in England; and in respect to the rapes, the fact alledged does not depend on the credit of newspapers; a solemn enquiry was made, and affidavits taken, by which it appears that no less than twenty-three were committed in one neighbourhood, in *New-Jersey*; some of them on married women, in presence of their helpless husbands, and others on daughters, while the unhappy parents, with unavailing tears and cries, could only deplore the savage brutality.

Amer. Herald.

It must be remarked here, that the reporter of the foregoing is not an enemy, but a friend to the British cause.

Mr. *Galloway* had been speaker of the Pennsylvania House of Assembly, and a member of Congress for that State; but deserted the American cause, and went over to the enemy, at New-York, and at the time of publishing the above, he was in England.

In the northern department, a party of Indians in the British interest, attacked thirty odd unarmed recruits, with two officers, in their way from Ticonderoga to Fort-George, to join their corps. They were asleep round a fire—the savages tomahawked some of them on the spot. Not more than three of this party (it was reported) escaped from the

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savages—they pushed on for Canada, and were pursued by Colonel Whitcomb, with some Continentals, who overtook, and killed and wounded several of the Indians.

March 23.

The royalists were prevented from fully executing their design, in an expedition to *Pech's-Kill*, by the good conduct of General *Mc. Dougal*, who commanded there.

About 500 of the royalists were detached from New-York, under command of Colonel Bird, with a design to destroy some stores that were collected there.

General *Mc. Dougal* ordered the rum and provisions to be destroyed, to prevent its falling into the enemy's hands, and the heavy artillery to be sent off, excepting one iron twelve pounder. The General and his troops retired to a barrack, two miles and an half from the town; the enemy cannonaded it, and wounded one man. General *Mc. Dougal* then took post to secure the pass of the mountains, and some mills, which contained a quantity of flour and grain, belonging to the Continent. The next day, Lieutenant-Colonel Willet, with about sixty men, of Colonel Gansewoort's regiment, got, undiscovered, on the right flank of the enemy's piquet guard, of 100 men, while a small party was sent on their left to draw their attention, it had the desired effect, for Colonel Willet got near them, unperceived, when a short skirmish ensued. The Colonel ordered his men to fix bayonets, and rush on them, on hearing which, the enemy fled with great precipitation. That night they embarked, and the next morning General *Mc. Dougal* took repossession of the town.

Although the enemy did not accomplish their whole purpose, yet the loss sustained by the Continent was considerable, in rum, molasses, flour, sugar, &c.

March 24.

In the Jerseys, 60 of the Continentals, from Sampton, &c. fell in with a party of the enemy, near one of their out posts, when a smart engagement began; Major Ritney's party being inferior to the enemy (who were constantly reinforced) were obliged to retreat, which he did in such good order, as not to lose a man; he was reinforced by Ramfay's battalion of Maryland militia, and some Virginia volunteers, who drove the enemy into their breast works. The affair ended in favour of the Continentals.

April 5.

A party of Continentals, surrounded a piquet of the royalists—killed seven, one of them said to be a Lieutenant Frazier, of the 71st British regiment.

Major-General Lincoln, who had a command of Continentals at *Bound-Brook*, writes thus: "The enemy having found means to evade the observation of our patrols, attacked our small encampment in different parts; which obliged us to retire to the mountains in our rear. We lost

three field pieces, and a few men." Whilst the General went to the place first attacked, some of his papers, and his baggage fell into the enemy's hands. We had about 500 men, who were extended the distance of four or five miles. The enemy's force, about 4000, with four or five general officers; they remained about two hours in the little village, and after destroying a few stores, retired to their quarters, at Brunswick, and General Lincoln, with his party to theirs.

1777.

A ship from Bourdeaux arrived at the United States. She was commissioned as a letter of marque, and brought with her, linen and woollen goods, much wanted for the army. April 20.

General Howe issued at New York, a proclamation for levying Provincial troops, "affording (the proclamation says) an opportunity for his Majesty's faithful and well disposed subjects, inhabitants of the Colonies to co-operate in relieving themselves from the miseries attendant on anarchy, &c." As an encouragement to enlist, they were to receive, after being disbanded, grants of vacant lands in the Colonies, agreeably to their respective stations.

April 21.

An expedition to Danbury, in Connecticut, was undertaken by the royalists. General Howe, in a letter of this date, informed Lord George Germaine, "That about 1800, under command of Governor Tryon of New-York, (who had accepted the rank of Major-General of the Provincials) went with a design to destroy a large magazine of provisions, and military stores, at Danbury.

April 24.

Brigadier-General Agnew, and Sir William Erskine, are upon the service, the Naval part of which is under the conduct of Captain Duncan, commander of his Majesty's ship "Eagle"—What follows, is from an account published in the Connecticut Journal—"When the troops had landed, the handful of Continentals were obliged to evacuate the town, having previously secured a part of the stores and provisions. The enemy began their operations, by burning and destroying houses, stores, &c. which alarmed the country. Brigadier-General Silliman, mustered about 500 militia, and was joined by Major-General Wooster, and Brigadier-General Arnold.

April 25.

After the enemy had manœuvred about, they took the road leading to Norwalk; General Wooster pursued, and had a smart skirmish with them, he behaved with great intrepidity, but unfortunately received a wound, by a musket ball, through his groin.* General Arnold, by a forced march, having reached Ridgefield, and posted his party of

* General Wooster, of New-Haven, died of his wound the 2d of May, greatly lamented.

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about 300, waited the approach of the enemy. They soon advanced in a column, with three field pieces in front of them, and three in the rear, and large flank guards, of 200 men in each. They began their attack by discharging their artillery, and were soon within musket shot, when a smart action ensued between the whole, which continued about an hour, in which our men behaved with great spirit, but being overpowered with numbers, were obliged to give way, though not till the enemy were raising a small breast work, thrown across the way, at which General Arnold had taken post, with about 200 men, the rest of his small body were posted on the flank.

Arnold had his horse shot under him, when the enemy were within ten yards of him, having recovered himself, he drew his pistol, and shot a soldier who was advancing with his fixed bayonet.

The General then ordered his men to retreat.

In this action the enemy suffered very considerably, leaving about 30 dead and wounded on the ground, besides a number unknown, buried. Here we had the misfortune of losing Lieutenant-Colonel Gould, one subaltern and several privates, killed and wounded. After several subsequent disputes, between the contending parties, the British having gained the high hill of Compoos, attempts were made to dislodge them, but without effect, and having landed a number of fresh troops, to cover their embarkation, they effected a —weighed anchor, and stood across the Sound for Huntington, on Long-Island. Our loss was judged to be about sixty, killed and wounded, among the former were one Lieutenant-Colonel, one Captain, four subalterns, and Dr David Atwater, whose death is greatly regretted; the enemy's loss judged to be more than double of our number, and about twenty prisoners taken. General Howe's return transmitted to England, makes their loss to be 26 killed 117 wounded, and 29 missing. Total 172. Among the wounded are three field officers, one of whom is Brigadier General Agnew.*

The return made by the Quarter-Master, to General Arnold, of the stores destroyed by the enemy, is 1750 barrels of pork and beef, several hogsheds of rum, 11 tierces of claret, 3 quarter casks of Madeira wine, 1200 to 1700 bushels of wheat, rye, and corn, 12 coils of rope, a small quantity of coal and smith's tools, 10 waggons, sometents, &c. The enemy's return, at New-York, greatly exceeds the above.

* An account afterwards exhibited, has it, 260 killed, 35 wounded.

A spy from the enemy's camp, at New-York, who had been employed by them to procure *cheveaux de frise* pilots to carry the King's ships up Delaware river, was apprehended at Philadelphia, and on his trial, being found guilty, was executed agreeably to his sentence. 1777. April 30.

The ice in Lake Champlain broke up very early this spring, and it became passable.

The royalists in that quarter began to muster their forces, and Sir Guy Carlton, to make preparations for putting in execution, the plan communicated to him by Lord George Germaine.

In his letter of instructions to Sir Guy, he says, "It is the King's determination to leave about 3000 men under your command, for the defence and duties of the province [Canada] and to employ the remainder of your forces upon two expeditions; the one under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, who is to force his way to Albany. The other under Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, who is to make a diversion by way of the Mohawk river.*

"As this plan cannot be so advantageously executed without the assistance of Canadians and Indians, his Majesty strongly recommends to your care to furnish both expeditions with good and sufficient bodies of those men." Burgoyne and St. Leger with the troops, under their separate commands were to use their most vigorous exertions to form a junction with Sir William Howe at Albany, to act under his orders, and endeavour to cut off the communication between the southern and eastern States, which, when accomplished, they doubted not, but they could, with ease, subdue New England, the object of their greatest resentment.

It is remarked on this plan, "That the attempt to unite their forces by Hudson's river (the only way by which Howe could get to Albany) will be thought at least a precarious undertaking, if what follows be admitted. That by going up the North River, Howe may secure a retreat for his army through Canada, but the ships must return, if they return at all, the same way they went, and as our [the Continental] army would be in the fear, the safety of their passage down is a doubtful matter.

By such a motion he shuts himself up from all supplies from Europe but through Canada, and exposes his army and

* Mohawk-river belongs to one of the five nations of Indians in alliance with Britain; it rises to the north of Fort Stanwix, then runs South to that Fort, then East 110 miles, to the Hudson. This tribe is greatly reduced, said now to have only sixty fighting men.

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havy to the danger of perishing. The idea of cutting off the communication between the eastern and southern States by means of North River is merely visionary; he cannot do it by his shipping because no ship can lie at anchor in a river within reach of the shore, a single gun would drive first rate from such a station. This was proved last winter at Forts Washington and Lee, when one gun only on each side the river obliged two frigates to be cut and towed off in an hour's time.

Neither can he cut it off by his army, because the several posts would divide them almost to nothing, and expose them to be picked up by ours, like pebbles on a river's bank.*

Messrs. Franklin and Deane, the American Commissioners in France, made the following representation to Lord Stormont, Ambassador there, from the British Court, relative to the case of American prisoners in England; he told his Lordship, "That compelling men by chains, stripes and famine to fight against their friends and relations (amounting to the practice of forcing them to enlist on board British armed vessels) is a new mode of barbarity which your nation alone has the honour of inventing, and the sending American prisoners of war to Africa and Asia (a plan which had been proposed) remote from all probability of exchange and where they can scarce hope to hear from their families even if the unwholesomeness of the climate does not put a speedy end to their lives, is a manner of treating captives that you can justify by no other precedent or custom, except that of the black savages in Guinea."

In answer to this representation, Lord Stormont sent the following message to the Commissioners.

"The King's Ambassador receives no letters from Rebels unless when they come to ask mercy."

We cannot help observing here, that the appellation *rebel*, comes with an ill grace from the native of a country famed for *rebellion*.†

This month Lieutenant-Colonel Wolcott, in behalf General Howe, made a demand in writing on General Washington for performance of his agreement relative to exchange of prisoners, which the Colonel pretends his Excellency had not complied with.

General Washington in a letter to Sir William Howe, states fairly the case of the prisoners, and gives the reason of

* *American Crisis*, No. 3, by the author of *Common Sense*.

† His Lordship is a Scotsman of the same name "Murray" as Lord Mansfield and Dunmore, and allied to them in principle as well as blood.

conduct respecting them. His Excellency takes notice, "That the prisoners taken by the British were treated with great severity and inhumanity. That he did not hold himself bound either by the spirit of the agreement, or by the principles of justice, to account for those prisoners, whom, from the rigour and severity of their treatment were in so emaciated and languishing a state at the time they came out, as to render their death almost certain and inevitable, and which in many instances happened while they were returning to their homes, and in many others after their arrival. Painful as it is, I am compelled (says his Excellency) to consider it as a fact not to be questioned, that the usage of our prisoners, while in your possession, the privates at least, was such as could not be justified.

"This was proclaimed by the concurrent testimony of all who came out, their appearances sanctified the assertion, and melancholy experience in the speedy death of a large part of them, stamped it with infallible certainty."

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An Historical Journal of

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May 8.

Distribution of the Foreign Troops under General Sir
WILLIAM HOWE, New York, May 8th, 1777.
FOREIGN.

Regiments or Corps.		Brigades.		Commis. officers.		Staff.		Non com. officers.		Drum. & Fifers.		Privates.			
Corps of Chasseurs		Donop.		4	1	20	8	157							
Linsing's Grenadiers				13	1	42	18	363							
Mingerode's ditto				12	2	39	16	361							
Lengereck's ditto				14	2	42	19	363							
Kochler's ditto				14	3	35	16	299							
Du Corps				21	5	59	22	491							
Mirbach		Stirn.		20	4	56	21	452							
Donop				18	4	58	19	445							
Debres of Rall's Brigade				18	5	52	23	369							
1 Company of Chasseurs		Anspach.		134	27	403	167	3300							
D'Eyb				4	0	9	0	95							
De Voit				23	7	45	15	458							
Corps of Artillery				22	6	45	15	451							
				1	0	4	0	39							
				50	13	103	30	1043							
														With the Commander in Chief.	
														Maj. Gen. Stirn.	
														Lt. Gen. de Heister.	

FOREIGN.

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Regiments or Corps.

Where Stationed.

Regiments or Corps.										Where Stationed.									
Prince Charles										New-York Island.									
Trumbach										{ Maj. Gen. Schmidt, Maj. Gen. Murbach.									
{ Stein																			
{ Willenbach																			
{ Prince Hereditaire																			
82										20									
20										250									
90										1778									
Regiment of Waldeck										Staten-Island.									
—										13									
5										45									
14										330									
Landgraff																			
{ Dufurth																			
{ Loßberg.																			
16										2									
52										18									
343																			
18										4									
60										18									
440																			
Hoyu																			
17										3									
47										19									
348																			
Buau																			
16										3									
47										19									
305																			
{ Rhode-Island.																			
67										12									
206										74									
1496																			
Total										346									
77										1007									
375										7947									
—										9752									
										Foreign Troops.									

N.B. The Artillery attached to the Hessian Regiments and Regiments of Waldeck are included in the numbers of each corps.

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By this account it appears that General Howe had at the time nearly *ten thousand hired foreign troops* under his command, and acting under his orders, in addition to his army of British regulars.

May 11.

A letter from a post near Bonham-town (in the Jerseys) of this date, relates an action between part of General Stephens's division of Continentals, and the Royal Highlanders and six companies of Light-infantry within two miles of the town, and about the same distance from Brunswick. The enemy were twice reinforced, when, from the situation of the posts occupied by the Royalists, viz. Brunswick, Rariton-landing and Bonham, the Continentals thought it advisable to retire, which was effected in excellent order, and their loss inconsiderable. Another account of this affair makes the loss of the Royalists 80 killed and wounded.

May 22.

General Washington's encampment was at this date at *Bound-brook*, and the Royal army at *Brunswick* on the east side of the Rariton, and upon the communication between that place and Amboy.

May 25.

Colonel Meigs, from Connecticut, undertook an expedition to *Long-Island*, with a detachment of one hundred and sixty men, including officers; they landed within three miles of Sagg-harbour, and having made proper disposition for attacking the enemy, in five different places, proceeded with the greatest order and silence till within twenty rods of them, when they rushed with fixed bayonets upon the different barracks, guards, and quarters of the enemy; while Captain Throop, with a party, took possession of the wharves and vessels lying there, the alarm soon became general, and an incessant fire of round and grape shot, was kept up from an armed schooner of twelve guns, which lay within one hundred and thirty yards of the wharves, for near an hour, notwithstanding which the party burnt all the vessels at the wharves, chiefly sloops and schooners about ten in number, and also the armed vessels, and killed and captivated all the men belonging to them, destroyed about one hundred and seventy tons of hay, large quantities of grain, ten hogheads of rum, and other West-India goods, and secured all the soldiers stationed there, as prisoners about ninety. Colonel Meigs had not a man killed or wounded, according to the account given of this affair by General Parsons.

May.

Earl Percy having resigned his command at New York (R. I.) to General Prescott, he embarked for England the month, in consequence of a difference that had taken place between him and Sir William Howe, relative to his not immediately complying with the requisition of Sir William for 1500 men. His Lordship's reason was "that the enemy

were collecting a large force at Providence, and it would injure his Majesty's service to spare so large a number from Newport." This disgusted Sir William, and in his reply, he threatened his Lordship with a trial for disobedience of orders, &c. Upon which the Earl wrote to his father, the Duke of Northumberland, to solicit his immediate recall from America.

We should not insert the following extract from the American Crisis, No. 5, if we had not found it confirmed by a letter from the British commander in chief, being loth to report any facts, of which we have not evidence sufficient to gain our credulity.

"It is a meanness (says the author of that pamphlet) we could wish was not chargeable on the King's Generals, that they have done all they could to ruin the paper currency of the States, and have not omitted to attempt it even by this method of counterfeiting the bills, which has been done under their countenance; it not by their immediate direction."

The following paragraph in a confidential letter wrote by Sir H. Clinton, after he had command of the Royalists, to Lord George Germaine, will justify the above assertion. Sir Henry says, "The experiments suggested by your Lordship—no assistance that could be drawn from the power of gold, or the arts of counterfeiting have been left unattempted, but still the currency, like the widow's cruise of oil, has not failed Congress."

This month the Earl of Chatham, made a motion, in the upper House of Parliament, for an accommodation with America, and as he had done before, strongly reprobated the American war, as *unnatural in the mother country, to her affectionate children, on the Continent of America*, and as ruinous to themselves. In his speech on this occasion, his Lordship said, "That as this country [England] was the aggressor, it was from her that the first tender of accommodation must come; that America was not at War with them, but they with America, that they had invaded America just as the Spanish armada was preparing to invade England. We have burnt the towns of America, and plundered the people there, and therefore he would change the term, and instead of talking of *unconditional submission* from the Colonies, it behoved us to shew ourselves willing to grant them *unconditional redress*, &c. Lord Chatham's motion was supported by the Dukes of Graton and Manchester, the Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Hinchcliffe) Lords Camden, Shelburne, Abingdon, and some others who were for immediate reconciliation; but the opposition was too strong. Though the motion proposed *only negotiation* with the Colonies, and

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removal of grievances, yet the majority were not inclined to grant even these, and the motion was lost by a majority of sixty-six. The Lords Gower, Weymouth, Lyttleton, Mansfield, and the good Archbishop of York (Dr. Drummond &c. &c. were for chastisement.

June 3.

The requisites the Royal army wanted, for opening the Summer campaign, did not arrive till the latter end of May. Sir William Howe writes of this date to Lord George Germaine: "The arrival of the camp equipage, the 24th of May last, both for the army and Provincials, hath relieved me from much anxiety, being articles greatly wanted for opening the campaign, which will now immediately take place in *Jersey*, where the enemy's principal strength still remains, and shall proceed as occurrences may arise." The following account of the movement of the Royal army, after the arrival of the camp equipage, is related in a letter dated at the American camp, at Middle-brook. "General Howe began to move from Brunswick the 10th of June, extending his van as far as Somerset court-house, and forming a line over the whole intermediate ground, where he continued, thus posted, till Monday, the 17th. On Thursday morning, having the rivers Millstone and Rariton in his front and rear (and a chain of redoubts he had thrown up) he made a sudden and precipitate change of his ground, and returned to Brunswick, without attempting any thing. It was not in our power, while he was in that situation, only to give him some annoyance with our light troops, for which purpose Colonel Morgan, with a chosen band of riflemen were appointed, he kept almost an incessant fire, and did them much damage. It is thought General Howe's design was to attempt an impression on our right, or to proceed to Philadelphia: If the first, he found the execution would be the price of much blood; if the latter, most probably his destruction. The militia of the *Jerseys* turned out upon this occasion, and occupied the ground leading from his camp, to dispute his passage, but Saturday night and Sunday morning, the 22d, they evacuated Brunswick and retired to Amboy, but not without loss. They got off before our troops could get up, not having timely notice of their intention. Maj. Gen. Greene had command of the troops detached, but only Wayne's brigade were well up before the enemy retired, they advanced, and formed very near to the enemy who were far superiour in number, but they declined a battle and kept moving off; General Maxwell, who was detached to flank the line of communication between Brunswick and Amboy, could not get up in time."

June 10.

General Burgoyne being appointed to a command in the northern department (agreeably to the plan of Lord George

June 23.

Germaine in a letter to Sir Guy Carlton, already mentioned) began his operations, and having got to the river *Boquet* (between Champlain and Lake George) issued an extraordinary proclamation of this date, introduced in the following very pompous enumeration of his titles, viz.

"By *John Burgoyne, Esquire, Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's forces in America, Colonel of the Queen's regiment of Light Dragoons, Governour of Fort William, in North-Britain, one of the Commons of Great-Britain, in Parliament, and commanding an army and fleet employed on an expedition from Canada, &c. &c.*"

The style of this extraordinary performance held up to view the confidence General Burgoyne placed in his troops: He considered them as invincible, and that at the head of such an army, he could march *where-ever* and accomplish *whatever* he pleased. He seems to be absorbed in the contemplation of his own greatness, and almost to have forgotten that there was any power existing superior to him; but, a little time taught him more modesty, and convinced him that the *undisciplined* troops of America, when fighting in the cause of freedom, were more than a match for the regular *disciplined* troops of Britain, when fighting against it.

Congress resolved to form a *corps of invalids* to be employed for garrisons and guards, in cities, and other places where magazines and arsenals were placed. Also to serve as military school to young gentlemen, previous to their being employed in marching regiments.

General Washington, in a letter dated this day, at Middlebrook, informed Congress, "that on Thursday morning, General Howe advanced with his whole army, in several columns, from Amboy, as far as Westfield. We are certainly informed that the troops sent to Staten-Island returned the preceding evening, and it is said with an augmentation of marines, that carrying them there, was a feint with intention to deceive us. His design in this sudden movement was either to bring on a general engagement upon disadvantageous terms, considering matters in any point of view, or to cut off our right parties, and Lord Stirling's division, which was sent down to support them, or to possess himself of the heights and passes, in the mountain on our left. The two last seem to be the first object of his attention, as his march was rapid against these parties, and indicated a strong disposition to take those passes. In this situation of affairs, it was thought absolutely necessary that we should move our force from the ground to occupy the heights before them, which was effected. As they advanced, they fell in with some of our right parties, and part of Lord Stirling's division, with which they had some pretty smart skirmishing, with but very

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little loss, I believe on our side, except in three field pieces, which unfortunately fell into the enemy's hands; but not having obtained returns yet, I cannot determine with certainty, nor can we ascertain what the enemy's loss was. As soon as we had gained the passes, I detached a body of light troops under Brigadier-General Scott, to hang on their flank, to watch their motions, and ordered Morgan's corps of riflemen to join him since. The enemy remained at Westfield till yesterday afternoon, when, about three o'clock they moved towards Sparte-town, with our light troops in their rear, and pursuing.

The enemy have plundered all before them, and it is said burnt some houses. The affair of Lord Stirling, being taken notice of by General Washington is thus related: "He commanded a party of 12 or 1300 men at Westfield, a few miles from Perth-Amboy, and was attacked, and almost surrounded by the main body of the enemy, but fought their way through with great bravery, being overpowered with numbers, they were under a necessity to retreat to the centre of the army with the loss of three field pieces, 20 killed and about 40 wounded.

July 6.

The important post of *Ticonderoga*, on the south part of Lake Champlain, on the frontiers of Canada, was evacuated this day by the Continental troops, when that fortress with all its dependencies, fell into the hands of Burgoyne's army.

July.

The 14th of the month General *St. Clair*, who commanded at *Ticonderoga*, wrote to Congress from Fort-Edward the state of the garrison and his reasons for evacuating it, by which it appears that the batteries of the enemy were ready to open, that the effective men in the garrison were not sufficient to man one half the works, and that consequently the whole must be upon constant duty, which they could not possibly long sustain—that he consulted the general officers, who were of opinion the place ought to be evacuated without loss of time—that he was too short of provisions to call the militia to his assistance sooner than he did—that he came the day before the evacuation, but so ill provided that they could not, nor did they propose to stay but a few days—that the militia from Massachusetts, which composed part of the garrison, gave him notice that their time expired in two days, and they intended then to go home—that the whole force consisted of 2089 effective men, besides the corps of artillery and the 900 militia above mentioned—that it was impossible with that force to defend *Ticonderoga* and Mount Independence. It was the design of General *St. Clair* to have marched his garrison to Skensborough, but the enemy got there before him, and Captain Lutwidge de-

royed all the Continental boats there. General St. Clair 1777.
was therefore obliged to change his route, and make the best
of his way to Fort-Edward; but as his retreat was hasty and
irregular, he lost a considerable number of men.

Soon as the news of this event reached Congress, they
resolved to make inquiry into the affair, and directed Gen-
erals Schuyler and St. Clair, forthwith to repair to head
quarters; they also appointed Mr. Lawrens, Mr. R. H. Lee,
and Mr. J. Adams, as a Committee to collect evidence of
the facts, and transmit them to General Washington, who
was directed to appoint a Court-Martial for the purpose
above mentioned.*

General Burgoyne crossed Lake George,† and formed his
encampment on the banks of Hudson's river nigh Saratoga.

This day intelligence was received at Providence, that July 18.
Major-General Prescott, commander of the Royalists at New-
port, with one of his aids, were to lodge about four miles
out of the town. Lieutenant-Colonel Barton with a party
of thirty-eight men belonging to the State, went in boats
from Warwick neck, and passing the enemy's ships and guard-
boats, landed on the island about twelve at night; they got to
the General's lodgings undiscovered, and having secured the
sentinels, broke into the house, and took the General in bed,
his aid leaped from a window in his shirt, and attempted to
escape, but was taken. The party then returned to their
boats with their prisoners. Soon after they had put off, the
enemy fired rockets from their several posts, as signals for an
alarm, but it was too late. General Prescott was escorted in
polite manner, in a chariot from Warwick neck to Provi-
dence. The manner in which this affair was conducted does
much honour to the enterprising Colonel Barton.

General Washington at the camp at Middle-brook, pub- July 19.
lished a *manifesto*, in answer to General Burgoyne's procla-
mation, which may be considered as an excellent comment
on it. It begins in this manner: "The associated armies
of America act from the noblest motives, and for the purest
purposes; their common object is liberty. The same princi-
ples actuated the arms of Rome in the days of her glory,
and the same object was the reward of Roman valour.
When these sacred ideas are profaned, when the abominable
mixture of mercenary, foreign and savage forces dares to men-
tion the love of country, and the general privileges of mankind
(which Burgoyne's proclamation mentions as motives for the
unjust conduct.) The freemen of America protest against

* General Schuyler was tried for not being at Ticonderoga
when it was evacuated; and General St. Clair was tried
some months after, and both acquitted.

† Over Lake George to Ticonderoga is about 40 miles.

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such abuse of language and prostitution of sentiment." In another paragraph of the manifesto: "We beg leave to observe, if the power of his Britannic Majesty's fleets and armies have been driven from Boston, repulsed from Charlestown, cut off at Trenton, expelled the Jerseys, and be now, after almost three campaigns, commencing its operation, that this is a power we do not dread." In the close of the manifesto are these expressions: "Harrassed as we are by unrelenting persecution, obliged by every tie to repel violence by force, urged by self-preservation to exert the strength which Providence has given us to defend our natural rights against the aggressor; we appeal to the hearts of all mankind for the justice of our cause, its event we submit to him who speaks the fate of nations in humble confidence, that as his omniscient eye taketh note even of the sparrow that falleth to the ground: So he will not withdraw his countenance from a people who humbly array themselves under his banner, in defence of the noblest principles, with which he hath adorned humanity."

July 22.

General Howe being prevented by the vigilance of the American General, from passing his troops through the Jerseys to make an attempt on Philadelphia by way of the Delaware; and having this object in contemplation (though divergent from the plan proposed and communicated by Lord George Germaine to General Carlton already noted.)

He made preparation to embark them for Chesapeak-bay which being accomplished, Admiral Lord Howe, with his line of battle ships, four frigates, four sloops of war, and another armed vessel, took under his convoy two hundred and seventy sail of transports, having on board seventeen thousand troops, with whom he proceeded to the place of destination.

August.

General Harkermer, at the head of the militia from Tryon county, State of New-York, marched to relieve Fort Stanwix, which was surrounded by Sir John Johnson and his party of Tories and Indians. He had a successful action with them, within six miles of the fort, near Oneida-Creek.

After some hours they were routed and made off, leaving most of their dead on the ground. Notwithstanding General Harkermer was wounded in both his legs, he maintained the ground; he sat on a stump and heroically encouraged his men. At the end of the action he had but fifty men, the rest having left him, he brought off his own wounded men, and some of the enemy's. Colonel Gansevoort the commandant of the fort, hearing the enemy had engaged the militia, sent Colonel Willet with 250 men. They sallied out of the fort and put to flight a large party of them, took one regular Captain and four privates, &c.

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The enemy was reinforced, but being hard pressed they fled as the others had done, and the party returned again to the fort without the loss of a man. General Harkermer did great execution with his militia, 160 of his men were killed, wounded, and missing. He himself soon after died of the wounds he so magnanimously bore in the field of action. The loss of the enemy about 350, the greater part of them Indians, among them many chiefs.

The Continentals in the northern department having evacuated several posts after the loss of Ticonderoga and retreated from place to place, General Burgoyne presumed no more opposition would be made by the country, and that he might push on without much annoyance. These flattering expectations so far prevailed as led him to adopt and pursue measures, that issued in his defeat and capture.

He dispatched Colonel Baum (a German officer) with a party of 1500 men, upon a most *romantic* expedition. His instructions, which fell into the hands of General Stark, and he communicated, discovered the object of the expedition, and the route the Colonel was to take, he was instructed "*To proceed through the New-Hampshire Grants, cross the mountains, scour the country with Peter's corps of Tories and the Indians, from Rockingham to Otter-creek, to get horses, carriages, and cattle, and mount Reidesel's regiment of dragoons, to go down Connecticut river as far as Brattleborough, and return by the great road to Albany, there to meet General Burgoyne, to endeavour to make the country believe it was the advanced body of the General's army, who was to cross Connecticut river and proceed to Boston; and that at Springfield they were to be joined by the troops from Rhode-Island. All officers, civil and military, acting under the Congress, were to be made prisoners. To tax the towns where they halted, and with such articles as they wanted, and take hostages for the performance, &c.*"

By the tenor of this commission it appears that the British *Aug. 6.* General thought his proclamation at Boquet had produced wonderful effects; that it had struck a general panic through the States, and quelled all opposition; and that it was now only for his troops to move at his command, and the conquest was obtained.

With his commission in his pocket, Colonel Baum set out to execute it, and proceeded about 12 or 13 miles, halted and entrenched, and could get no further; here he was stopped: And on the 16th of August, General Stark obtained a complete victory over his party, by which memorable event the vain expectations of General Burgoyne were brought to naught, and the foundation laid for the signal conquest, which followed soon after.

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Brigadier-General, Stark, with some of the militia from Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and the Grants, attacked the enemy in their entrenchments about five miles west of Bennington, and after an obstinate engagement dislodged them, making prisoners of upwards of 300, and taking two field pieces. The Continental General was reinforced by 150 men under Colonel Warner. They pursued two miles, when the enemy had a reinforcement of a 1000 men and two field pieces. A second and very smart action ensued, and after being continued about two hours, the enemy beat a retreat. The militia rushed on with a general shout which put the enemy into such confusion, that they left their wounded behind them, and General Stark, master of the field. In the second onset two field pieces more, and 300 of the enemy were taken; they left 200 dead on the spot.

The parties sent out by General Stark, brought in 100 prisoners, he took also 1000 stand of arms, eight loads of baggage and 20 horses. The number of killed, wounded, and prisoners, is as follows:

1 Lieut. Colonel,	157 Tories,	2 Canadian officers,
1 Major,	4 Ensigns,	3 Surgeons,
5 Chaplains,	2 Cornets,	37 British soldiers,
12 Lieutenants,	1 Judge adv.	398 Hessians,
36 Canadians,	1 Baron,	—
654 Prisoners.		

200 killed, 80 wounded, Total 934—about 400 of them were escorted to Boston, and put on board prison ships, &c. provided for them, being Germans, Canadians, and some British soldiers. Colonel Baum died of the wounds he received in battle.

[It appears by the English papers that General Burgoyne was censured for this undertaking, and for employing a German Colonel to command in such an enterprize, who, though brave, could not be expected to have an idea of the nature of American warfare, and did not understand a syllable of the language of the people whose affections he was to try.]

The following *anecdote* is worthy of record. The venerable old man who is the subject of it, discovers more than Roman greatness of soul. We wish we could give his name.

A good old gentleman, that had five sons in the field, whose furrowed cheeks and silver locks added venerableness to his hoary brows, being told that he was unfortunate in one of his sons—replied, what, has he misbehaved, did he desert his post! Or shrink from the charge!—No Sir, says the informant, worse than that,—He is among the slain, he fell contending mightily in the cause; then I am satisfied, replied the venerable sire; bring him in and lay him before

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me, that at leisure I may behold and survey the darling of my soul—upon which the corps was brought in and laid before him, all besmeared with dirt and gore—He then calls for a bowl of water and a napkin, and with his own hands washes the gore from his son's corps, and wipes his gaping wounds, with a complacency, as he himself expressed it, which before he had never felt or experienced.

Some instances of savage barbarity by the Indians in Burgoyne's army after they had got possession of Ticonderoga, he was informed of by a letter from General Gates, in the words following. "A young lady, Miss M'Crea, lovely to the sight of virtuous character, and amiable disposition, engaged to be married to an officer in your army, was, with other women and children taken out of a house near Fort-Edward, carried into the woods, and there scalped and mangled in a most shocking manner. Two parents with their six children were all treated with the same inhumanity while quietly residing in their own happy and peaceful dwellings. The miserable fate of Miss M'Crea was peculiarly aggravated by being dressed to receive her promised husband—but met her murderer, employed by you. Upwards of one hundred men, women, and children, have perished by the hands of the Ruffians, to whom it is asserted you have paid the price of blood." The substance of General Burgoyne's reply follows. "The fact (he says) was no premeditated barbarity; on the contrary, two Chiefs who had brought Miss M'Crea off for the purpose of security (not of violence) to her person, disputed which should be her guard, and in a fit of savage passion, in one from whose hands she was snatched, the unhappy woman became the victim.

He obliged (he says) the Indians to deliver up the murderer into his hands, and he certainly should have suffered an ignominious death, had he not been convinced that a pardon on his terms, would be more efficacious than an execution, to prevent further mischief—that he paid for scalps he denies, but the Indians were to receive compensation for prisoners."

The mode of employing savages and slaves in the British armies, was recommended by a Minister of State as early as the beginning of the war. Lord Dartmouth, then Secretary of State for the American department, wrote to Lord Dunmore of August 5th, 1775. "The hopes you hold out to us in your letter in the first of May, that you should be able to collect from among the *Indians*, negroes and other persons a force sufficient, if not to quell the rebellion, at least to defend government *was very encouraging*." Lord George Germaine informed Sir Guy Carlton "That his Majesty strongly recommends this measure." General Burgoyne,

1777. in a letter to Lord George, of June 22d, 1777, says "That he allowed the Indians to take the scalps of the dead."

Fort-Stanwix was attacked by Colonel St. Leger, with a body of regulars, and (according to a letter from Canada, published in England) about 2000 *Indians*—the attack did not continue long; he soon marched off with great precipitation, leaving his tents with considerable baggage, provisions, military stores, &c. the probable cause of his going off suddenly, was his hearing General Arnold was on his way to relieve the fort. The real intention of St. Leger not being known, whether he was returning back with his force, or retired from the fort with a design to engage Arnold's party on the road. General Arnold supposing the former, sent a body of 600 men to make a forced march to the fort, in hopes of coming up with their rear, and securing their cannon and heavy baggage; but before they arrived at the fort, Colonel Gansevoort, the commander, sent out a small party who brought in four Royals, and a quantity of baggage, with some prisoners and deserters.

The real cause of St. Leger's retreat was afterwards known to be from the advance of those (he called) rebels; and according to the account he gave, the ferocity and ungovernableness of the Indians who obliged him to retreat.

Major-General Sullivan, in the Jerseys, planned an expedition to *Staten-Island*, and undertook it the 22d August. He forwarded to Congress an account of his proceedings, and his reasons for undertaking it, viz. "That the troops on that Island were frequently making excursions into the Jerseys, carrying off inhabitants, cattle, &c. these reasons induced him to embark in the affair, in which he was assisted by Generals Smallwood and De Bouers, with about 2000 troops, chiefly of the Jersey militia; he crossed the Kills at the blazing star, and was joined by the rest of the Elizabeth-town militia. After landing they proceeded to the house of the tory, Colonel Lawrence, who commanded some new raised provincial levies; they made him prisoner with several other officers and 80 privates, which was the first notice the enemy had of their being upon the island; they also made prisoners of Col. Barton, another tory Colonel, and about 40 privates. He repulsed the enemy in several skirmishes, and took besides the above mentioned 9 other officers, 130 privates, and 18 Tories, also a considerable number of arms, hats, blankets, cloths, and some hard money, &c. destroyed their stores and vessels, and brought off their baggage with a number of cattle. They reported about 400 of the enemy killed and wounded; his loss in killed, wounded and prisoners was 164. The remainder retreated with their plunder to Elizabeth-town." General Sullivan having engaged in this expedition,

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without consulting Congress, or the Commander in chief; he was examined before a Court of Enquiry, of which Lord Stirling was President. In their opinion General Sullivan's conduct in planning and executing the expedition, was such as deserved the approbation of his country. General Howe, with his troops, being on their way to Philadelphia, the *Council of Pennsylvania* were of opinion that the safety of that State was in peculiar danger from divers persons who were in office under the late hereditary government, or otherwise in the service of the King of Great-Britain, which caused those persons to be apprehended: They were indulged on parole, with a convenient degree of liberty. *John Penn, Esq.* the late Governour, and the late Chief Justice *Chew*, refusing to sign paroles, were sent to Fredericksburg, in Virginia. Twenty other persons, inhabitants of Philadelphia, chiefly of the denomination of Quakers, were removed to Stampton, in Virginia, there to be treated according to their characters and stations, as far as was consistent with security of their persons: They were for a time deprived of the liberty they wished for, but not the least injury offered to them.

General Carlton embarks at Quebec for England, and is succeeded by Gen. Haldiman as Governour of Canada, &c.

Captain Gustavus Cunningham, in an armed vessel under *American colours*, having taken the Harwich packet-boat, and carried her into Dunkirk, Cunningham (by application from the British Ambassador, Lord Stormont) was confined for a breach of treaty respecting that port; but he and his company, were soon after released, and at liberty to proceed on another cruize. This disgusted the British Court with France, and disappointed the hopes of Lord North, who told Parliament "Cunningham would be treated in France as a pirate." The *Court of Versailles* took no further notice of the matter.

Lord Howe arrived with his fleet from New-York, at the mouth of *Elk river*, and on the landing the army at Elk ferry, a corps of them then advanced to the head of the Elk, by the west side of the river, within fifty or sixty miles of Philadelphia.

General Washington, with the main body of his army, marched through Philadelphia in his way down to Maryland; and the last of the month encamped at Wilmington, thirty miles from the city of Philadelphia, and about twenty miles from the enemy on Elk river.

The returns of the Royal army make them to consist of 17,000 men at this date, in all their divisions.

General Washington, in a letter to Congress, dated at Wilmington, informed them that "the enemy, with a con-

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siderable force, had a skirmish with some of his light advanced corps, who, though they were obliged to retreat, yet he believed the enemy had suffered the greatest loss,* as some of the Continental party were expert marksmen, and had opportunities of giving them several close and well directed fires, particularly in one instance, where a body of riflemen formed a kind of ambuscade. The design of their (the enemy's) movement, General Washington says, seemed to have been to disperse our light troops, who had been troublesome to them; and to gain possession of Iron-hill, to establish a post most probably for covering their retreat in case of accidents."

Congress ordered General Smallwood and Colonel Gist to the eastern and western shores of Maryland. They, with General Cadwallader, of Philadelphia, were to take command of the militia there, and to act on the rear, and the left flank if the enemy advanced, to be joined with militia from the Jerseys under General Dickinson. General Sullivan with his division, were directed to join the Continental army.

Sept. 9.

General Washington moved with his troops to Newport, three miles below Wilmington. The Royalists marched in one solid column to Mill-town, within about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile of General Washington's main body, but soon after filed off to the right of them in order to possess themselves of a fort on the heights of *Brandywine*; but General Washington perceiving their design, dispatched Lord Stirling with his division to get possession before them.

Sept. 11.

An action took place at *Brandywine*, the particulars of which were published in a letter written at Schuylkill, two days after the action.

"The action began in the morning, when a large body of the enemy appeared opposite to them, and a heavy cannonade lasted, more or less the whole day. Gen. Maxwell's advanced light corps, engaged the advanced parties of the enemy on the other side of the *Brandywine* creek† with success. Another body advanced opposite to to our army, and took a circuitous route of six miles to our right, and crossed the creek, at the forks of *Brandywine*. General Washington had very contradictory accounts of the number, and determination of this column, until they had crossed the creek six miles in our right; he immediately ordered General Sullivan's, Lord Stirling's, and Stephen's divisions, to advance and attack them; this was about three o'clock in the after-

* An account published since, makes 59 killed, 80 wounded 20 prisoners of the Royalists.

† This creek empties itself into the Delaware, near Wilmington.

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noon, these divisions having marched about three miles fell in with the enemy, who were also advancing. Each side pushed for a hill situated in the middle; the contest became accordingly severe, and lasted without intermission for an hour and an half, when our troops began to give way, many having expended all their cartridges. General Washington, who, in the beginning of the action, galloped to the right, ordered Major-General Greene's division and Nash's brigade from the left, but the distance being so great, the other division had retreated before this arrived; however, they formed, and were of the utmost service in covering the retreat of the other divisions, particularly, Wendon's brigade of General Greene's division, who behaved to admiration, in an excessive hot fire; they attacked the British grenadiers, and finally after dark came off in great order. While this scene was acting on the right, the enemy opened a battery on the left, of eleven pieces of cannon, opposite to one of ours, of the same number. General Wayne, with a division of Pennsylvania troops, having General Maxwell's light corps on the left, and General Nash's brigade (which was afterwards drawn off to support the right wing) on his right, formed the left wing. The enemy's batteries, and ours kept up an incessant cannonade and formed such a column of smoke, that the British troops passed the creek unperceived on the right of the battery, in the ground which was left unoccupied by the withdraw of General Nash's brigade.

"A very severe action immediately commenced between General Wayne and the enemy, who had now got possession of a height opposite to him; they made several efforts to pass the low grounds between them, and were as frequently repulsed. Night coming on, his Excellency the General gave orders for a retreat, which was regularly effected, without the least attempt of the enemy to pursue.

"Our troops that night retired to Chester."

The latter writer remarks, "This is the most capital and general action of the present war, and when we consider the precarious circumstances of the enemy, and the views they had, to take Philadelphia by a single action, the loss they sustained without attaining their end; it may be fairly concluded, from a comparison of circumstances, that if the advantage is not on our side, yet they will have but little to boast of."

Monsieur de Condry* of the Continental army was unfortunately drowned in crossing the Schuylkill.

Notwithstanding the situation in which the engagement

* This gentleman was a Brigadier-General and Engineer in the French service, and a Major General in the American army; he arrived at Boston in the month of May.

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happened, prevented little more than one half of General Washington's force, to be opposed to nearly the whole strength of the enemy; it was reported with confidence, that the loss on the side of the Continentals, did not exceed one thousand, killed and wounded; among the latter, is the young Marquis de la Fayette, lately from France, and General Woodford; the enemy lost double the number. An account published, has it 800 killed, 1178 wounded, in the whole 1978. It is certain that many were killed and wounded on both sides, and the loss greatest on the side of the Royalists.

Sept. 13
and 14.
Sept. 17.

Burgoyne passed the Hudson, and encamped on the heights, and in the plains of Saratoga.

The northern army advanced in three columns, under Generals Lincoln and Arnold, General Gates in the centre.

The design was to endeavour to force Burgoyne and his troops back to Canada, "which (in the words of the general orders issued by General Gates, previous to their march) had been successfully begun by Gen. Stark and Col. Warner at the eastward; and by Gen. Harkerman and Col. Gansevoort at the westward; and could not, with the blessing of heaven, fail to be equally prosperous in the hands of the generals and soldiers, appointed to face the enemy's main army at the northward. If the murder of aged parents, with their innocent children; if mangling the blooming virgin, and inoffensive youth are inducements to revenge—if the righteous cause of freedom, and the happiness of posterity are the motives to stimulate to conquer their mercenary and merciless foes, the time is now come, when they are called upon by their country, by their General, and by every thing divine and human to vanquish the foe." These orders inspired them with ardor to revenge their country's wrongs, and their operations heaven crowned with success.

The main body of Gates's army took post near Stillwater between Saratoga and the mouth of Mohawk river.

Sept. 19.

The first general action between Burgoyne's and the Continental army happened on this day. The latter being encamped on Behm's heights on the Hudson, some miles above Stillwater, and the latter at Van Veighen's mill, seven miles north. The advanced guards of the Continentals, consisting of Morgan's rifles, and detachments from the other corps, posted at about one mile and an half front of the enemy, were attacked by three regiments of British troops, and after an obstinate dispute the enemy gave way with considerable loss, but being reinforced they renewed the attack. The Continentals being at the same time supported by the left wing, consisting of the whole of Arnold's division received them warmly; and though the enemy brought on their

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whole force, not more than half the Continentals maintained their ground till night, when both parties retired.

The loss of the enemy in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted (as was reported) to near 1000. They had two pieces of artillery in this action, one of which was taken and retaken four different times, the enemy finally keeping it; the loss on the side of the Continentals, variously reported: Some accounts make them 260, and the highest number 318.* A detachment of 500 men were sent from General Lincoln's division, under Colonel Brown, to attack the enemy at the landing at Lake George, three miles from Ticonderoga, with a view to retake the prisoners and destroy the enemy's stores.

Another detachment of equal number, marched the same day for Mount-Independence to divert the enemy's attention from Colonel Brown. These parties had orders, if they found it practicable, to attack Ticonderoga and the Mount.

Colonel Woodbridge, with a like number, marched for Skenesborough, Fort Ann and Fort Edward, all which places the Royalists had evacuated, and collected their whole force at their grand army. Six days after the action, mentioned above. General Gates was joined by two hundred *Oneida* Indians, who, with the riflemen, were detached to gain information of the enemy's situation, and to attack their outposts; the army following the next day. Colonel Brown having succeeded in the business he went upon, to lake George, informed General Lincoln what he had done, from his letter, and an officer in his detachment, we learn, "That after taking possession of the old French lines at Ticonderoga, and keeping them four days with 300 men, Mount Defiance fell into his hands with 100 men. He took 200 bateaux on lake Champlain and Mount Hope, several large gun boats and an armed sloop, some cannon and small arms, equal to the number of prisoners who were about 300—he also released a number of Continental prisoners."

After performing these services, Colonel Brown joined the main army.

After the action at *Brandywine*, the outpost of the Continental and Royal armies had a skirmish near the Warren Tavern twenty-three miles from Philadelphia, and on Lancaster road. The Royalists had now got possession of Wilmington, and *Congress* thought it prudent to remove to *Yorktown*, in the northern part of Pennsylvania. The city of Philadelphia, then fell into the hands of the Royalists, and the British and Hessian grenadiers with a detachment of Royal artillery, took possession of the city (and as a public

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* These numbers differ greatly from that given by the enemy.

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paper reports) headed by Colonel Harcourt with a party of light dragoons, under command of Earl Cornwallis, who was attended at the head of the *grénadiers* by Sir William Erskine, commissary-general, and a number of other officers of distinction with a band of music playing *God save the King.*"

That part of the Royal army that were left in possession of New-York, in the absence of General Howe, having received a recruit of fresh troop from England, General *Vaughan* undertook an expedition up Hudson's river, probably to make a diversion in favour of General Burgoyne, whose situation became now very hazardous. A number of troops were embarked in about thirty sail of vessels, and a number of flat-bottom boats, under Sir James Wallace; they proceeded up the river, as far as Tarry-town, and landed some men; the next morning reshipped them, and proceeded to King's-ferry, and landed a few troops, but their main body, landed on the opposite shore, the west side; on the Monday following, those at Peck's-Hill crossed over. About 4000 marched towards the Continental forts, Montgomery and Clinton; they were opposed in their march by an inferior number who were obliged to retire. The forts were garrisoned with 5, or 600 men, and between the hours of one and two the attack began, but the fire from the fort put them into confusion several times. About four o'clock, a flag was sent, demanding a surrender in a few minutes, or they should all be put to the sword; Colonel Livingston returned for answer, "They were determined to defend the fort to the last extremity." The combat was then renewed with vigour, till dusk of the evening, when the Royalists stormed the upper redoubts, which commanded the fort Montgomery; and after a severe struggle, by superiority of numbers, they got possession. At the same time, they stormed and took Fort Clinton, where were only militia, who made a noble defence.

The greatest part of the garrison, with almost all the officers, taking advantage of the darkness of the night made their escape, after the enemy had been some time master of the Forts.

It was reported that the conquerors refused to give quarters, and continued firing on the garrison after they had scaled the ramparts. The Continental Frigates, Congress and Montgomery being in the river, and the wind and tide unfavourable to remove them higher up, they were burnt, to prevent falling into the enemy's hands; their loss in this adventure in killed and wounded was very considerable. Notwithstanding their success, it proved of no advantage to the army from Canada, under Burgoyne.

An action took place this day, between the Continental army and General Howe's, at *Germantown*, eight miles from

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Philadelphia. The following is Gen. Washington's account of it in a letter to Congress, dated *Penbuckers-Mill, Oct. 5, 1777*. "Having received intelligence by two intercepted letters, that General Howe had detached a part of his force for the purpose of reducing Billings-Fort, and the forts on Delaware, I communicated the accounts to my general officers, who were unanimously of opinion that a favourable opportunity offered to make an attack upon the troops, which were at, and near Germantown. It was accordingly agreed it should take place yesterday morning, and the following dispositions were made.

The divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade, were to enter the town by way of Chesnut-Hill, while General Armstrong with the Pennsylvania militia, should fall down the Menatawney road by Vanderinge-Mills, and get upon the enemy's left and rear. The divisions of Green and Stephens, flanked by M'Dougal's brigade, were to enter by taking a circuit by way of the Lime-Kiln road, at the market-house, and to attack their right wing; and the militia of Maryland and Jersey under Generals Smallwood and Freeman, were to march by the Old York road, and fall upon the rear of their right. Lord Sterling with Nash and Maxwell's brigades, were to form a corps de reserve.

We marched about 7 o'clock the preceding morning, and General Sullivan's advanced party, drawn from Conway's brigade attacked their piquet, at Mount-Ring, at Mr. Allen's house about sunrise the next morning, which presently gave way, and his main body, consisting of the right wing, following soon, engaged the light-infantry, and other troops encamped near the piquet, which were forced from the ground, leaving their baggage, they retreated a considerable distance, having previously thrown a party into Mr. Chew's house, who were in a situation, not to be easily forced; and had it in their power, from the windows, to give us no small annoyance, and in a great measure to obstruct our advance. The attack from our left column, under General Greene began about three quarters of an hour after that from the right, and was the same time equally successful; but I cannot enter upon the particulars of what happened in that quarter, as I am not yet informed of them with certainty and precision. The morning was extremely foggy, which prevented our improving the advantages we had gained, so well as we otherwise should have done. This circumstance, by concealing from us the true situation of the enemy, obliged us to act with more caution, and less expedition, than we could have wished, and gave the enemy time to recover from the effects of our first impression; and what was still

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more unfortunate, it served to keep our different parties in ignorance of each other's movements, and hindered their acting in concert; it also occasioned them to mistake one another for the enemy, which I believe more than any thing else contributed to the misfortunes which ensued. In the midst of the most promising appearances, when every thing gave the most flattering hopes of victory, the troops began suddenly to retreat, and entirely left the field, in spite of every effort that could be made to rally them.

Upon the whole it may be said, this day was rather unfortunate than injurious. We sustained no material loss of men, and brought off all our artillery except one piece which was dismounted. The enemy are nothing the better by the event and our troops, who are not the least dispirited by it, have gained what all young troops gain by being in action. We have had however several valuable officers killed and wounded, particularly the latter. General Nash is among the wounded, and his life is despaired of.* The letter concludes with encomiums on the gallantry of General Sullivan and the whole right wing of the army who acted immediately under his Excellency's eye. In a postscript he takes notice—"I have just heard from General Greene, I fear the loss is more considerable than I at first apprehended. The cannon mentioned above is said to be brought off in a wagon.

* General Nash died soon after—The following lines were written in Carolina on occasion of his death.

"On Bunker's hill great Warren is no more,
The brave Montgomery's fall we next deplore;
Princeton's fair fields to trembling Britain tell,
How scar'd with wounds the conqueror Mercer fell;
New-England's boast the generous Wooster slain,
Demands our tears, while Britons fly the plain.
(And Harkerman who fought the savage race)
Among the Heroes well deserves a place.
Last flow our sorrows for a fav'rite son,
Whom weeping Carolina claims her own;
The gallant Nash, who with the fatal wound,
Tho' tortur'd—well'ring on the hostile ground.
"Fight on my troops" with smiling ardor said,
"Tis but the fate of war," be not dismay'd.
High heaven designs for great events this woe,
Which till the destin'd period none must know;
Heroes of old, they for their country stood
Rais'd mighty Empires founded with their blood;
In this new world like great events must come,
Thus Athens rose, and thus imperial Rome.

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It appears by other accounts published at the time, "That the Continental troops having eagerly entered the town, every house in it became a garrison for the enemy, who got their light field-pieces into the chambers. (The houses built with stone were proof against small arms.) Besides the very thick fog, the Royalists set fire to several fields of stubble, hay, and other combustibles, the smoke of which, together with the fog, combined to make such a midnight darkness, that great part of the time there was no distinguishing friend from foe, but by direction of the shot, and no other object but the flash of the gun. In this situation, one division of the Continentals coming towards their rear, they mistook it for a large body of the enemy, and were thereby thrown into confusion. The Royalists had great advantage, by knowing perfectly well the ground, to which the Continentals were total strangers. By unfortunate occurrences, the Continental troops were broke, the event of which was a retreat. General Sullivan's two aids were killed. The Royalists lost General Agnew, killed, General de Heister's son, and several other officers; the privates not ascertained. General Kniphausen was wounded, and a great number of soldiers.

A letter from a general officer at the northern camp, three miles from Stillwater, relates the following circumstances of an action with Burgoyne's army, which happened on Tuesday, the 7th of October, viz.

"The enemy's army advanced from their right, with a design to post on our left; our scouts were driven in, and they continued advancing. Three regiments were ordered out, who met them a mile from our lines, a small eminence lying between them; each pushed hard for it, and our troops gained it.

"The attack began, in the afternoon, and continued till dark without intermission; during which we drove them two miles, and at length entered their works sword in hand. Lieutenant Colonel Breyman, who defended one of the intrenchments was killed in the action; and in the works were taken two brass twelve pounders, and six six pounders, three ammunition waggons, about 300 tents, a quantity of baggage, upwards of 30 horses, waggons, &c. &c.

Our troops could not prudently proceed any further, it being dark, and the woods very thick: they halted at half a mile in the rear of the enemy. The next morning, about four o'clock, General Lincoln moved by the right. On his approach, the enemy retired to their strong holds on the river road, leaving their lines in our possession. Skirmishing parties were sent out the whole day. Some prisoners were

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taken, and some killed and wounded. On our side among the wounded, is General Lincoln, shot through the leg. General Arnold was wounded in the action. The day before, about 30 of ours were killed, and 100 wounded. The enemy's loss was considerable, Gen. Frazer wounded mortally. Prisoners, six Captains, 10 Subalterns, one Quarter-Master-General, and 190 privates. We took three field-pieces. From the hospitals were taken 300 sick and wounded, with some medicines, 100 barrels of flour, and other articles; upwards of 100 left dead on the ground. About 12 at night the enemy began their retreat, breaking up bridges, and otherwise spoiling the roads in their rear. Three thousand of our men were dispatched to lay on their left flank, the river being on their right, and two brigades on the river road in the rear."

Another account mentions, 300 to have been taken, of which number, seven are field officers, among whom is Major Williams, commander of the British artillery.

Major General Gates in his letter to Congress, mentions the capture of two other officers, Major Ackland who commanded the corps of grenadiers, and Captain Money Quarter-Master-General; he applauds the bravery of the whole body that engaged, particularly the riflemen under Colonel Morgan, and the light-infantry under Major Dearborn. [Captain Money, when examined before a Committee of the House of Commons, censures the conduct of a battalion of Brunswickers who were dispersed in confusion and could not be rallied afterwards.]

Oct. 15. General Vaughan's division of Royalists in their return from the capture of forts Montgomery and Clinton, committed great outrage. The town of Kingston (*Æsopus*) the third, for elegance in the State of New-York, was burnt; the church did not escape, nor any other house, excepting one.

The operations of General Burgoyne were now drawing towards a period. A variety of circumstances combined to accelerate the fate of his army. After the combat above related, they had frequent skirmishes to their loss. Into the hands of the Continentals, fell large quantities of provisions, prisoners, and baggage. A considerable number of deserters came over to Gen. Gates; numbers of their boats were taken. The Continental army was daily recruiting, and in a condition to surround Burgoyne's, which rendered it impracticable for them to retreat, the Continentals having command of all the passes by which it must have been made, or he could receive any supplies. In this situation, General Burgoyne requested a correspondence with General Gates, which being granted, Major Kingston was dispatched with a message, in which the British General holds up the idea, "that his attempt

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a retreat would produce a scene of carnage on both sides ; and therefore he was impelled by humanity to propose a cessation of arms, to communicate his preliminary terms of surrender."

General Gates in his reply represented that the state of the Royal army was such, that they could only be allowed to surrender prisoners of war. Sundry proposals were made, and replied to, and the preliminary articles being stated by General Burgoyne, officers from each camp were appointed to discuss and settle them, which being done, and the articles of capitulation agreed on, General Gates, out of complaisance to a British commander, condescended that their agreement of surrender should bear the name of *Convention*. It was signed by the respective parties, and Lieut. General Burgoyne with his whole army became the prisoners of the United States, this 17th day of October.*

The return made by General Burgoyne to Sir William Howe, makes the number of troops which surrendered at Sagoga 5750, viz.

British by capitulation	2442
Foreigners by do.	2198
Gen. Burgoyne's staff, among which are six members of Parliament	10
	<hr/>
	4650
Sent to Canada	1100
	<hr/>
	5750

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At the same time were taken also 39 brass cannon complete, royals and mortars included ; 5000 stand of arms ; 400 sets of harness, a number of ammunition waggons, &c. &c. They were allowed to take their military chest with them to Albany.

In another list exhibited by the captive General, to the commander in chief of the British army, it appears he brought out of Canada upwards of 10,000, besides Indians, viz.

* A writer observes, that seven is a mystical number remarkable in the scriptures prophecies. In the American contest it hath been noted, that the surrender of Burgoyne and his whole army happened on the 17th day of the month, in the 17th year of the reign of George 3d, the 7th Monarch of England from Charles first. In seven years and seven months, from the first bloodshed in the contest the massacre at Boston, which was seven years, from the assumed right of Britain to tax America, and 70 years from the union of England.

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	Prisoners before surrender,	400	Taken at Ticond.	400
	Deserters,	300	Killed in General	} 300
			Harkermer's bat.	
	Lost at Bennington,	1220	Included in Sara-	} 5750
			toga Convention,	
	Killed between 17th	} 600		
	Sept. and 18th Oct.			10096
		3546		

The loss of Ticonderoga, which at first gave great pain and anxiety, particularly to the New England States, paved the way to the important conquest above, and eventually proved, by the interposition of Providence, the ruin of Burgoyne's army. It blasted the hopes of Britain in this expedition, under a commander from whom they expected much. And it was followed with happy consequences to the United States.

[Besides what is related in the foregoing pages, relative to the operations of General Burgoyne's army in their route from Canada to Saratoga, we collect the following particulars, viz.]

Previous to the arrival of General Burgoyne from England, the 6th of May at Quebec, Sir Guy Carlton had in the winter of 1776, forwarded provisions and stores to Chamblée and St. John's, for the intended expedition from Canada. That after he, Burgoyne, had crossed Champlain, he made an address to the Indians in his army, and was answered by an Iroquois chief. These savages were principally under the direction of Mr. St. Luc, a Canadian gentleman, and a Mr. Langdale. It appears that if the Indians were serviceable to the British in the expedition, they were also very troublesome and difficult to restrain within rule and order. That in an action with a party of Continentals, 150 of Burgoyne's troops under General Fraser were killed and wounded July the 7th, at Hubbards town. That on the 9th and 10th of the same month, the British army assembled at Skenesborough. The 12th, the Earl of Harrington, was appointed aid de camp to General Burgoyne.

That the action of the 19th of September continued from one to seven o'clock, P. M. Three British regiments, viz. the 20th, 21st, and 62d regiments were in close and continual fire for four hours. The latter were not left with more than 100 rank and file; the others also suffered greatly.

In the action of the 7th October, Colonel Bloomfield of the artillery was wounded at the beginning of it. During the action Sir Francis Clarke, secretary to General Burgoyne, was mortally wounded. On the 8th, the day after the action, General Fraser expired of the wound he had received in it, and was, as he desired, interred in a redoubt.

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His loss was greatly regretted by General Burgoyne, who, with all the Generals and their aids, and those who were not attached to any particular post attended his funeral. The Earl of Balcarras of the British light infantry, succeeded to General Fraser's command on his being wounded, and Lieutenant Colonel Kingston, Adjutant-General, was appointed Secretary to the General, on the decease of Sir Francis Clarke.

At the first council of war, the British officers were unanimous for treating with General Gates. A treaty accordingly was opened, but before it was signed, General Burgoyne having received advice that Sir Henry Clinton was coming up North river, he, together with some other officers, Philips, Balcarras, Hamilton, &c. were of opinion it might be receded from; but they were over-ruled, and the Convention took place.

From General Burgoyne's narrative of his expedition, and from the event of it, it appears that he had a very inadequate idea of the situation of the country, and of the disposition of the people he was to subjugate, and was greatly deceived in his expectations at his first setting out. It was truly an arduous undertaking, and replete with embarrassments he could not overcome. It is not wise to entertain too mean an opinion of our enemy; this hath often proved ruinous, and seems to have been the error of Great Britain, in their contest with America.

The unfortunate commander in this expedition, by the testimony of the officers under him, executed as well as he could, the orders he had received, though not as he, and his employers not only wished for, but were almost confident of realizing.

The return of Gen. Gates's army, the 16th of Oct. was 13,216, fit for duty, under command of Brigadier-Generals Niles, Poor, Learned, Glover, Paterfon, Warner, Stark, Bailly, Whipple, Bricket, Fellowes, Wolcott, Ten Brock.

When General Gates had accomplished the necessary business that attended his late capture, he gave directions for transporting the prisoners to Massachusetts Bay, agreeable to the terms of the Convention, and soon after pushed forward his troops to join the main Continental army under General Washington.*

A letter from the Continental camp, 13 miles from Philadelphia, gives the following account of the repulse of a body of Hessians at Red-Bank. Oct. 22.

* As a memorial of this event, and as a token of respect for the General, Congress ordered a medal of gold to be struck, and presented to General Gates in the name of the United States.

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" This happened the day after the Royalists had quitted the strong village of Germantown, and had retired towards Philadelphia, to be in a more compact situation, &c.

" About 1200 or 1500 Hessians, with cannon, crossed the Delaware at Cooper's ferry, opposite Philadelphia, and marched to attack the redoubts at Red Bank, in which were two regiments from Rhode-Island, and some artillery under command of *Colonel Greene* of that State. A number of bridges were taken down, which obliged the enemy to take a circuitous route, so that the garrison had sufficient intelligence of their design, and were prepared accordingly. *Count Donop*, and his troops, chiefly Hessian grenadiers, arrived near the redoubts about four o'clock, and immediately summoned the commander to surrender, who answered he would defend the place to the last extremity." The attack commenced by a steady cannonade from 10 or 12 field pieces, and one howitzer: under cover of the smoke, the enemy advanced to storm the redoubt. This place was at first intended for a larger garrison, therefore it became necessary to run a line across the middle, and divide it in two; and accordingly, one part was evacuated, tho' not destroyed. The enemy without difficulty gained the evacuated part with loud huzzas on their supposed victory, and approached the new lines which divided the place. The brave garrison then began a severe and well directed fire, which lasted about forty minutes, when the enemy gave way in all parts, having above 100 killed on the spot, and upwards of that number badly wounded, and prisoners. *Count Donop* their commander (a person of great consideration in the royal army) was mortally wounded; a number of other officers were wounded.

The enemy retreated with the utmost precipitation all night, leaving many of their wounded on the road, and the next day crossed the Delaware to Philadelphia, with the loss of one half their party. *Colonel Greene* and his brave garrison, acquired praise for their gallant defence of this important pass, which is a key to the other posts on the river. Congress rewarded the *Colonel* with an elegant sword.

Oct. 26.

A plan which had been projected to dispossess the Royalists of the island of *Newport* (R. I.) and had for some political reasons been laid aside, after some preparations had been made at Providence to put it in execution, was now resumed by the New England States. A large body of men were assembled at Providence, and the command given to *General Spencer*, a Continental officer belonging to Connecticut; but this also failed of being executed. The militia were dismissed, and returned to their homes, after parading in the neighbourhood of *Newport*, some weeks. The court ap-

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pointed to examine into the cause of its not being undertaken, were of opinion, "That the General had done his duty, and all that was in his power; that the 16th of October was the time agreed on by the general officers to make a descent on Rhode-Island; that one brigade was not assembled, nor embarked in the whole of that day, nor ready for embarkation—the principal reason was, that all the brigades were not assembled and embodied on the day preceding the night of the 16th of October; it did not appear to the court that any other time was expedient to have made an attack previous to it; and subsequent to it, several times were assigned, but the weather being wet and stormy, from the 17th to the 26th of October, and other circumstances made it unfavourable; and considering the time for which part of the troops were engaged was near expiring, the court were of opinion that the determination of the Council of war, of the 26th of October, for giving over the expedition, was judicious and well made."

It appears that the orders of the General had not been punctually complied with; there was a neglect relative to the preparation for embarking the troops, and providing a sufficient number of boats at the time agreed, which having been omitted, no other was favourable, and the design was frustrated.

Sir William Howe found it difficult to get supplies for his troops in Philadelphia. They got them from their shipping at Chester, thirteen miles distant, by a communication over Schuylkill, which rendered their convoys liable to be cut off. General Washington's army was between them, and the country, and the Continental galleys, and chevaux de frise in the Delaware, prevented the British ships getting up to the city. To remove these obstructions in the river was the business of the Admiral Lord Howe. He ordered six of his ships to attempt it, having got above the lower tier of chevaux de frise, they made for the upper tier, and had to encounter the galleys and Fort Mifflin at Mud-Island. The ships were disabled, the tide ebbed; and the fire ships carried upon them, greatly embarrassed them. Two run aground, and were set on fire by the crews who deserted them, and soon after blew up; one of them, the *Augusta* of 64 guns, the other a frigate. The conduct of Commodore *Hazzlewood*, who had command of the Continental force in the river, was applauded, and rewarded by Congress.

In this month was levied the *first public tax* since the Nov. emission of Continental bills of credit.

It was recommended by Congress to the respective States to raise in the course of the year following in quarterly payments, the sum of five millions of dollars by *taxes* levied on

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the inhabitants of the respective		States in the following pro-	
portions, viz.	Dollars.	Dollars.	
New-Hampshire,	200,000	Pennsylvania,	600,000
Massachusetts-Bay,	800,000	Delaware,	60,000
R. I. and Providence,	100,000	Maryland,	320,000
Connecticut,	600,000	Virginia,	800,000
New-York,	200,000	North-Carolina,	250,000
New-Jersey,	270,000	South-Carolina,	500,000
		Georgia,	60,000

In the recommendation, Congress gave the reasons for it. "That supported by the confidence of their fellow citizens, without burthening them with taxes, or pecuniary contributions, they have raised the necessary supplies on the public faith for carrying on the war. Large sums have been emitted in bills of credit, and the same method embraced by the respective States to answer their internal wants. By these accidents our paper currency, notwithstanding the solid basis on which it is founded, is multiplied beyond the rules of good policy. Therefore to carry on the war, and yet not to increase the number of bills of credit, the foregoing expedient is recommended."

Congress also recommended the appointment of Commissioners to meet at particular places for regulating the prices of labour, manufactures, internal produce, and commodities imported from foreign parts, military stores excepted, and to regulate the charges of innholders.

They resolved also, "That it should be recommended to the several States to confiscate and make sale of all the real and personal estates therein, of such of the inhabitants and other persons who have forfeited the same, and the right to the protection of the respective States; and to invest the money arising from the sales in Continental loan office certificates, to be appropriated in such manner as the respective States shall hereafter direct."

Fort-Mifflin on *Mud-Island*, was evacuated by the Continental garrison, after having bravely defended it against the Royal batteries on *Province-Island*, that lay back of the fort, whence they kept a continual fire of eighteen pound shot, and also from a large India ship cut down, which lay at one end of the fort, mounted with twenty eighteen pounders. The Continentals brought off all their stores, levelled the block houses, and cut down the bank to let in the water which overflows the island.

Lieutenant Colonel Smith of Maryland, commanded the fort, and for his gallant defence, he received a testimonial

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from Congress of the approbation of the United States.* A letter from General Washington's camp, deplors the loss of young Captain Treat (a native of Boston, Massachusetts) who was killed by a cannon ball, while defending his post (the letter says) with the intrepidity that would have done honour to an old soldier.

Lord Cornwallis and Sir William Erskine marched to Chester with about three thousand men, and then crossed the Delaware to Billing's port, where they joined Generals Wilton and Peterson of the royal artillery. Nov. 17.

General Washington, expecting by their manœuvres that the Royalists were about leaving Philadelphia, put his army in motion; and Generals Green and M'Dougal were ordered to cross the Delaware with a body of six thousand. Lord Cornwallis's design was afterwards found to be, to attack Fort Mercer at Red Bank before it evacuated, and to make incursions into New-Jersey. The Continentals at Red Bank, being in a condition to make effectual resistance, brought off all the stores, quitted the fort, and withdrew to Huddon's field, nine miles back. The Continental fleet lying at Red-Bank, they also quitted and burnt them. Three days after, the Royalists took possession of Red-Bank.

Nov. 20.

Lord Cornwallis finding General Greene was advancing towards him with a strong body, he retreated back to Phila-

* Since the above was written, the following particulars have been published in the Providence Gazette of August, 186, by General James M. Varnum.

"The commander, Colonel Smith, being wounded, the command devolved upon Lieutenant Colonel Russell, of the Connecticut line, who being exhausted by fatigue, and out of health, was ordered to be recalled. The moment was critical. The commanding General at Woodberry, on the Jersey side, had orders from General Washington "to defend Mud Island as long as possible, without sacrificing the garrison." To defend it absolutely was impossible, unless the siege could be raised by an attack upon the besiegers in the situation of the fort. Nothing could present itself to a relieving officer, fully informed of all circumstances, but certain death, or an improbable escape. In that critical moment Major Thayer offered himself a volunteer, and from the 12th to the morning of the 16th November, he defended the Island with the greatest address, amidst furious, and almost continual cannonade, and bombardment from batteries at a small distance. The design of General Varnum in relating the conduct of Major Thayer, is to rescue from inattention, the brilliant behaviour of so deserving an officer.

1777. delphia, and General Green returned to the Continental camp.

The forts on *Mud Island* and *Red-Bank* being now in possession of the Royalists, they removed the obstructions in the Delaware, so as to admit small vessels with provisions to get up to Philadelphia city.

A French ship arrived at Piscataqua (State of New-Hampshire) from Marseilles with ordnance stores, mortars, bombards, brass cannon, gun-powder, musquets, &c. &c. In this ship arrived *Baron Steuben*, a Prussian officer of rank, said to have been aid de camp to his Prussian Majesty. He was appointed a Major-General in the Continental army and also Inspector General: He was a valuable acquisition: He regulated the Continental army, and taught them a uniformity of discipline.

December. The continental army went into winter quarters, and took post in the neighbourhood of Scuykill, about fifteen miles from Philadelphia. The main body quartered in and about *Valley Forge*, seven miles further; where, with great cold and fatigue, they cleared the woods, and built huts for their accommodation, during the winter.

Dec. 5.

In this situation General Howe meditated an attack on them. For this purpose the royal army began to march the night, and proceeded as far as Chestnut-hill, above Germantown.

Skirmishing took place between the piquets of the two armies. Colonel Morgan's riflemen fell in with a large column of the enemy near Jenkins-town on the Old-York road, when a smart engagement ensued. In one of the skirmishes Brigadier-General Irvine was wounded, thrown from his horse, and taken prisoner.

An officer at General Washington's camp, in a letter to his friend, writes thus, relative to this manœuvre of the Royalists: "Sir William Howe imagined, that on the first appearance of the British army, the shivering half-naked defenders of liberty would have decamped, and left him master of the country; but finding his parade in front ineffectual, he resorted to the more trying manœuvre of encamping on our flank; but seeing us still immovable, he judged it more prudent to retire to peaceful winter quarters, than attack us in a position, the strength of which would probably have obliged him to retire with loss."

Admiral Lord Howe sailed with his fleet from the Delaware to Newport harbour, as a safer situation for the winter.

The ice in Delaware river drove several of their merchant ships on shore, which fell into the hands of the militia. Continental troops stationed at Wilmington and the adjacent shores; one of which had on board a quantity of arms, clothing and baggage for some British regiments.

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It appears by the Royalists' own account, that there had been no good understanding between the British and German troops. The latter complained that they had been employed in the most difficult and dangerous enterprises, and been treated by the British as their inferiors. Their commander in chief General de Heister returned to Europe, and General Kniphausen took command of the foreign troops. They had suffered much at Fort Washington, at Trenton, at Red-Bank, &c. &c. as already noted.

The public were amused with a very extraordinary letter which appeared this month, in the Pennsylvania Ledger, under the signature of "Jacob Duché," addressed to his Excellency General Washington; in which, to use the author's own words, "*he has spoken freely of Congress, and of the army.*" It is dated October 8, 1777, and is calculated to cast a general odium on the proceedings of the United States; to induce General Washington to abandon the American cause, and resign his command of the army; or at the head of it, to force Congress immediately to desist from hostilities and to rescind their declaration of Independence. If this is not done, he says "You have an infallible resource still left: *negotiate for America at the head of your army.*" The Congress existing (at the date of his letter) he represents in the most despicable view, as consisting of weak, obscure persons, not fit associates for his Excellency; and the very dregs of the first Congress. The New-England delegates he treats with great indelicacy. The army, officers as well as men, he describes to be without principle, or courage; undisciplined; taken from the lowest of the people; unfit for a seat at his Excellency's table. Even the *minority nobility* in England, who were advocates for America, did not escape his aspersions, &c. &c.

Dec. 17.

Mr. Duché was a popular clergyman at Philadelphia—minister of the Episcopal Church there; and the chaplain first appointed by Congress. He officiated as such for about three months, and then resigned. Some disagreeable circumstances took place. Long-Island and New-York were taken by the Royalists, and perhaps caused his resignation; or it might have arisen from a change in the chaplain's sentiments respecting the *justice* of the American cause, which he had implored heaven to succeed. But whatever was the reason, the abuse contained in his letter will admit of no excuse. He acted a part disgraceful to his profession; and by taking up the pen of slander, brought on himself that ignominy which he designed for others. He left Philadelphia, (and as a letter to him expresses it) "took shelter under the arm of that power, which from the sacred pulpit he had exhortated his hearers to oppose."

The inhumanity of the British officers to American prisoners was not unknown to the British Minister. Messrs. Frank-

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lin, Deane, and Lee, the American Commissioners in France, the 12th of this month, in pointed language, in a letter addressed to Lord North, informed him of it.

Congress took into consideration the necessity of a mutual contract or Band of Union, between the American Independent States, for the purposes of preserving peace and order among them; the security of their rights and properties and the well ordering and regulating sundry important matters for the benefit of the whole, and for their mutual and general welfare. They accordingly formed this month "a plan of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the Thirteen United States." This plan to be laid before the legislatures of each State, for their consideration. If approved by them, and the delegates of each ratified it, in Congress, by orders from their constituents, it was then to be valid and conclusive.*

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Jan. 29.

Congress having appointed a committee to confer with General Washington, on the circumstances of their army, and in concert with him to make and recommend such new arrangements as should appear eligible; his Excellency laid before them a representation† in which he suggested the necessity "of a half pay establishment" to induce the officers to continue in the service and cheerfully discharge their respective duties; many of them having resigned, and application for it being made by many others; not having suitable encouragement, fearing they should be rather impoverished, than benefited by the service, and if they should die in it, their families would be left in wretched circumstances.

* Maryland did not ratify it in Congress till March, 1781. It was not (as one observes) an easy task to form a plan of union accommodated to the sentiments of so many States, differing in a variety of circumstances; their manners, produce, trade," &c. Having been tried six years, and found to be insufficient for the purposes hoped for from it, a convention of delegates from the several States was chosen to remedy its defects. They reported a new constitution or frame of government for the United States, in September, 1787, which was acceded to (some amendments proposed, &c.) by all the States excepting North-Carolina (who afterwards acceded to it.) The first day of March, 1789, was appointed for the meeting of the new government at New-York. The States chose his Excellency General Washington of Virginia, for President, and John Adams, Esq. of Massachusetts, for Vice-President.

† See a collection of papers relative to half pay, &c. published at Fishkill, 1783.

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In this representation, General Washington takes notice, that "besides adopting some method to make the provision to officers equal to their then exigencies, a due regard should be paid to futurity. Nothing, in my opinion, says his Excellency, would serve more powerfully to reanimate their languishing zeal, and interest them thoroughly in the service, than a half pay establishment. This would not only dispel the apprehension of personal distress at the termination of the war, from having thrown themselves out of professions and employments, they might not have it in their power to resume, but would in a great measure relieve the painful anticipation of leaving their widows and orphans a burthen on the charity of their country, should it be their lot to fall in its defence." The General said he urged his sentiments with the greater freedom, because he cannot, nor shall he receive the smallest benefit from the establishment, and can have no other inducement for proposing it than a full conviction of its utility and propriety. The General further observes. "I am sensible the *expense* will be a capital objection to it; but to this *I oppose the necessity*. The officers are now discontented with their situation. If some generous expedient is not embraced to remove their discontent, so extensive a desertion of the service will ensue, and so much discouragement will be cast upon those who remain, as must wound it in a very essential manner."

His Britannic Majesty recommended to his Parliament, "The necessity of preparing for such further operations as the contingencies of the war, and the *obstinacy of the rebels* may render convenient." They readily concurred with the king, and voted twenty thousand men for the service of the year 1778, to augment their army, to furnish a part of these troops, and to facilitate the business. General Haldiman (lately with the king's army in America) was sent into Germany, to aid the British agent already there.

Lord Barrington, Secretary at War, told Parliament, that the number of Royal troops employed in America the last year, 1777, amounted to fifty thousand, viz. twenty thousand under Sir William Howe, ten thousand under General Burgoyne, four thousand under Sir Guy Carlton at Quebec, the remainder serving in Nova Scotia, New-York, &c. and yet it is fact that this large army had at this time no other places on the continent in their possession excepting New-York island, Newport island, and Philadelphia city. They retained only the former during the war, having been obliged soon after this to abandon the two latter.

Hon. John Adams, Esq. being appointed by Congress to reside in France, in a public character; he embarked this month for that kingdom, in the Continental frigate, Captain Tucker. February.

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March.

Congress finding that the lenity shewn to the Royalists captivated in America, had been considered by them as the effect of fear and cowardice, and was the occasion of more severe treatment of American prisoners; they found it necessary to pass the following resolve, "That the prisoners of the enemy shall be subsisted, and treated in the same manner as our prisoners are by them, and that this mode of treatment be continued, changed, or suspended, as the conduct of the enemy with respect to American prisoners shall from time to time render just and necessary." They also recommended to the States the raising a body of light horse volunteers, to act in conjunction with their army, till the end of the year; and it was accordingly complied with.

Parties of troops were detached from the royal army at Philadelphia, to New-Jersey, in quest of cattle, &c. but their success was interrupted by the vigilance of General Wayne, and the bravery of Count Polaski, who attacked them at Haddonfield, and put them to flight, though greatly superior to the Continentals in that quarter. They recrossed the Delaware, without the cattle and forage they wanted, having lost several, killed, and about a hundred wounded.

April 6.

General Burgoyne, by leave of Congress, left Cambridge, in Massachusetts (on parole) to proceed to Newport, there to embark for England.

April 19.

Mr. Simeon Deane (brother to the American Commissioner in France) arrived at Boston with dispatches for Congress, containing "Treaties of Alliance, between France and the United States, signed at Paris, the 6th of February."

By the 11th and 12th articles of the Treaty of Commerce, it was agreed "that the subjects of the States should pay no duties on molasses in the French islands, and that the French were to pay no duties on merchandize of the States they procured for the islands which furnished molasses." These two articles were suppressed afterwards, by mutual consent, in September following. At this time Count de Vergennes was minister for foreign affairs; and the *Sieur de Sartine*, minister and Secretary of State for the marine department.

M. de Noailles, the French Ambassador in London, upon having information from his Court, of the alliance entered into with the American United States, he acquainted the British ministry. It gave them alarm, and changed the proceedings of Parliament. Lord Stormont was ordered to leave the Court of France, and the French minister left that of London. Previous to the official information from the Court of France, Lord North had changed his tone, and spoke a language diverse from what he had hitherto done, on hearing of the capture of General Burgoyne and his army. On the 17th of February, he proposed a repeal of the

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obnoxious acts of Parliament—to send commissioners to treat with Congress as a *legal* body; these commissioners to be authorized to order a suspension of arms—to suspend the operation of all former laws—to restore the colonies to their ancient constitution, as they were before the troubles, &c. &c. In the close of this notable speech, his Lordship was so honest as to declare his reasons for making it, viz. “*his extreme disappointment in his expectations of the effect of the force employed against America.*”

His Lordship's proposals readily went down with Parliament, and the House of Commons prepared bills conformable thereto. The draft of two of them (said to be) only once read before one branch of their legislature, was hurried over to America, in their imperfect state, with many blanks, and industriously circulated by the royal partizans, which gave suspicion that their view was to relax the military preparations on the part of the States, &c.

The three acts called the *conciliatory* acts are entitled, viz.

“An act for repealing an act passed in the fourteenth year of his Majesty's reign, entitled, “An act for the better regulating the government of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New-England.

“An act for removing all doubts and apprehensions concerning taxation, by the Parliament of Great-Britain, in any of the colonies, provinces, and plantations, in North America and the West-Indies, and for repealing so much of an act made in the seventh year of the reign of his present Majesty, as imposes duty on tea imported from Great Britain into any colony or plantation in America, or relates thereto.

“An act to enable his Majesty to appoint Commissioners, with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces, in North America.”

A member of the House of Commons* expressed his ideas of these bills, in the words following: “These bills hold out what ministry know to be a fallacious hope, a *reconciliation with the colonists on terms short of independence*. The object is merely to screen ministry from the indignation of the public and vengeance of the people. Are our ministers weak enough to expect to cajole America with a *parchment* at the moment they declared that they despair of conquest by the *sword*?” The foregoing accords with the sentiments of Congress. They viewed these bills in the same light, and that they were designed to lull the people into security. The following are extracts from an *animated* address of Congress to their constituents on this occasion.

* Mr. Wilkes.

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May 9.

"The haughty Prince, who spurned us from his feet with contumely and disdain, and the Parliament who proscribed us, now descend to offer terms of accommodation.

"Whilst in the full career of victory, they pulled off the mask, and avowed despotism. But having lavished in vain the blood and treasure of their subjects, in pursuit of this execrable purpose, they now endeavour to ensnare us with the insidious offers of peace. They would seduce us into a *dependence*, which necessarily, inevitably leads to the most humiliating slavery. And do they believe you will accept these fatal terms because you have suffered the distresses of war? Do they suppose that you will basely lick the dust before the feet of your destroyers? Can there be a man so lost to the feelings that adorn human nature, to the generous pride, the elevation, the dignity of freedom? Is there a man who would not abhor a dependence upon those, who have deluged his country in the blood of its inhabitants? We cannot suppose this, neither can we suppose that they themselves expect to make many converts. What then is their intention? Is it not to lull you with the fallacious hopes of peace, until they can assemble new armies to prosecute their nefarious designs? If this is not the case, why do they meanly court each little tyrant of Europe to sell them his unhappy slaves? why do they continue to embitter the minds of the savages against you? Sure this is not the way to conciliate the affections of America—*Be not deceived.*

"It hath become now morally certain, that if we have courage to persevere, we shall establish our liberty and independence.—Expect not peace, while any corner of America is in possession of your foes. You must drive them away from this land of promise, a land flowing indeed with milk and honey. Is there a country on earth which hath such resources for the payment of her debts, as America? such an extensive territory? so fertile, so blessed in its climate and productions? Surely there is none; neither is there any to which the wise Europeans will sooner confide their property. What then are the reasons that your money has depreciated? Because no taxes have been imposed to carry on the war; because the commerce hath been interrupted by the enemy's fleets; because their armies have ravaged and destroyed a part of your country; because their agents have villainously counterfeited your bills; because extortioners among you, inflamed with the lust of gain, have added to the price of every article of life, and because weak men have been artfully led to believe that it is of no value.

"How is this dangerous disease to be remedied? Let those among you who have leisure and opportunity, collect the

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monies which individuals in their neighbourhood are desirous of placing in the public funds. Let the several legislatures sink their respective emissions; that so there being but one kind of bills, there may be less danger of counterfeiting. Refrain a little while from purchasing those things that are not absolutely necessary, that so those who have engrossed commodities, may suffer, as they deservedly will, the loss of their ill-gotten hoards; by reason of their commerce with foreign nations, which their fleets will protect. Above all, bring forward your armies into the field. Trust not to appearances of peace or safety. Be assured, that unless you persevere, you will be exposed to every species of barbarity; but if you exert the means of defence which God and nature have given you, the time will soon arrive, when every man shall sit under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree, and there shall be none to make him afraid."

This address calls the attention of the inhabitants of the United States to *recollection*. To remember how reluctantly they were drawn into the arduous contest; their supplications for redress; while they were petitioning, the fatal blow was struck which hath separated us for ever. The people appealed to their Maker for the justness of their cause. They were then quite defenceless, without arms, ammunition, clothing, ships, money, and military officers skilled in war. The course of the enemy's army marked by rapine and devastation. We were obliged to take up arms against our own countrymen; were ill treated while prisoners. They stimulated servants to slay their masters, and excited the Indians against us. One of their Generals declared his intention of letting loose whole hosts of savages upon us. They offered to export our inhabitants, by their merchants, to the sickly baneful climes of India. We have treated their prisoners with tenderness, which has been construed by them into cowardice. We should take notice of the interposition of heaven in our favour, when reduced to distress, and the means wanting to prosecute the war. Our foes have been instrumental in providing them: And he hath conducted us to the threshold of security.

These considerations were laid before the people as powerful incentives to *perseverance and exertion*.

That this address might be *universally* known through the United States, it was recommended by Congress to be read by all the ministers of the gospel of every denomination after divine service, in their respective places of religious worship.

The people in the States were not deceived; they entertained the same opinion of these bills as Congress has expressed and their conduct was correspondent.

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Notwithstanding the *pacific* appearance of the above acts of Parliament, their troops did not relax in their hostilities, but continued their desolations by fire and sword. Some of their troops destroyed the house of Joseph Borden, Esq. at Bordentown, in the Jerseys, and the buildings on a farm belonging to Colonel M'Bride. They were prevented from further mischief at this time, by the interruption given them by General Dickinson. Their troops from Newport in Rhode-Island State, also committed outrage on the towns in that neighbourhood—the latter end of this month their shipping got up the bay undiscovered, and landed about six hundred men, between the towns of *Bristol* and *Warren*, and marched on to a place where a number of flat-bottomed boats and gallies were repairing, which they burnt, together with a grist-mill.

At *Warren* they entered the houses of the inhabitants, insulted and plundered them of their clothing, bedding, furniture, &c.

They set fire to the meeting-house, parsonage, and several other houses, and destroyed a small magazine of military stores.

They began their retreat by the road leading to *Bristol* ferry, where they burnt, plundered and destroyed whatever their haste would permit, not sparing the Episcopal church, situated near the centre of the town, which, with many of the best houses were reduced to ashes. To the women (it was reported) the soldiery were rude, and robbed them of their handkerchiefs, aprons, shoe-buckles, rings, &c. Major-General Sullivan, who at this time was on command at Providence, sent Colonel Barton to rally the scattered inhabitants and hang upon the enemy's rear, to give *him* time for his main body to come up. The Colonel collected about twenty men, and, with this small number, followed them towards *Bristol* ferry, near which he came up and attacked their rear with great bravery, until being wounded, he was obliged to retire. The enemy's boats arrived in time to embark them for *Newport* island, before General Sullivan with his troops, could get up. They afterwards landed a body at *Freetown* and burnt two mills, but being opposed by the militia, they went off.

The judicious representation made by General Washington, January 29th, relative to half pay, convinced Congress of the propriety and necessity of making further provision for the army, and produced the following resolves, viz.

May 15.

“Resolved unanimously, That all military officers commissioned by Congress who now are, or hereafter may be in the service of the United States, and shall continue therein during the war, and not hold any office of prob-

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under these States, or any in them, shall after conclusion of the war, be entitled to receive annually for the term of seven years, if they live so long, one half of the present pay of such officers, provided that no General officer of the cavalry, artillery or infantry, shall be entitled to receive more than the one half part of the pay of a Colonel of such corps respectively; and provided that this resolution shall not extend to any officer in the service of the United States, unless he shall have taken an oath of allegiance to, and shall actually reside within some of the United States.*

"Resolved unanimously, That every non-commissioned military officer or soldier who hath enlisted or shall enlist in the service of these States during the war, and shall continue therein to the end thereof, shall be entitled to receive a further reward of eighty dollars at the expiration of the war."

June 5.

In the beginning of this month, Captain Eliot in the Trident frigate, arrived off the Delaware, with three of the commissioners appointed by act of Parliament to settle the disputes in America, viz. *Frederick Lord Carlisle*, *William Eden*, Esq. (brother to a late Governour of Maryland) and *George Johnstone*, Esq. (late Governour of Pensacola West-Florida, and a naval Commander)† accompanied by *Adam Ferguson*, Esq. their secretary. In this commission were joined Admiral Lord *Howe*, and the commander in chief of the King's land forces in America, now Lieutenant-General Sir *Henry Clinton*.‡ Their commission bears date the 13th of April, 1778, to expire the first of June, 1779.

* The resolve respecting the officers was extended to their widows by an after resolve. See August 24, 1780.

† Their emolument, said to be £1000 sterling, each for a service of plate; a proportionably large sum for their stores; and a salary of £100 each per week, excepting the President, who had three times that sum. [This is inserted as a matter of report.]

‡ Soon after the defeat of General Burgoyne, Sir William Howe wrote to England a letter of resignation; and the first of May, Sir H. Clinton went to take command of the army at Philadelphia.

In the General Advertiser, of Saturday, December 5th, Sir William is said to have given his reasons in the House of commons, for quitting his command in America. He blamed the ministry, particularly Lord George Germaine, for neglecting his duty, not treating him with confidence, nor co-operating in the plans he formed; nor supplying him with the reinforcements he demanded; not paying that attention to the requisitions he had made in favour of deserving officers, that the dignity of his station, and the nature of their services required.

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June 9.

General Washington forwarded to Congress a copy of a letter he received from the *three* first mentioned commissioners, informing him of their arrival and commission, and requesting a passport for their secretary, charged with a letter from them to Congress. General Washington also forwarded a copy of his answer to the commissioners, in which he declines giving the passport requested, till the pleasure of Congress was known.

Congress having received the abovementioned papers from their General, the letter from the Commissioners to them was read till these words occurred: "*Insidious interposition of a power which has from the first settlement of these Colonies been actuated with enmity to us both.*" The reading was then interrupted and a motion made not to proceed further, because of the offensive language against his most Christian Majesty. This letter, and the papers that accompanied it, were read at another time. A committee of Congress, to whom they were referred, reported the draft of a letter, to the three commissioners, of which the following is a copy:

[The committee consisted of William H. Drayton, Richard H. Lee, George Morris, Mr. Witherpoon, and Samuel Adams, Esq's.]

"I have received the letter from your Excellencies the 9th instant, with the enclosed, and laid them before Congress. Nothing but an earnest desire to spare the further effusion of human blood, could have induced them to read a paper containing expressions so disrespectful to his most Christian Majesty, the good and great Ally of these States, to consider propositions so derogatory to the honour of an independent nation. The acts of the British Parliament, the commission from your Sovereign, and your letter, suppose the people of these States to be subjects to the crown of Great Britain, and are founded on the idea of dependence which is utterly inadmissible. I am further directed to inform your Excellencies that Congress are inclined to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which this war originated, and the savage manner in which it has been conducted. They will therefore be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the King of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose. The only proof of this disposition will be an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these States, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies.

"Signed by order of the unanimous voice of Congress, at York-town, June 17, 1778.

"HENRY LAURENS, President."

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June 19.

The British fleet under Admiral Keppel, captured three French frigates.

(The King of France, though in alliance with the American States, had not yet commenced hostilities on Great Britain.)

The Royal army completed their evacuation of Philadelphia (in consequence of orders Sir Henry Clinton had received from England) having previously transported their stores and most of their artillery into the Jerseys, they manœuvred the lines the preceding night, and proceeding over the commons, crossed at Gloucester point. A party of the Continental light horse pursued, and took some prisoners. General Arnold, with a detachment of Continentals, took possession of the city of Philadelphia the same evening, previous to which Congress passed a resolve, "that on the evacuation it would be expedient for the commander in chief to take effectual care that no insult, plunder or injury of any kind, may be offered to the inhabitants." General Washington, in a letter to Congress, dated at English-town, gives a particular relation of the manœuvres of both armies after they had left Philadelphia, the following is a copy of said letter, viz.

"On the appearance of the enemy's intention to march through Jersey becoming serious, I had detached General Maxwell's brigade in conjunction with the militia of that State, to interrupt and impede their progress, by every obstruction in their power, so as to give time to the army under my command to come up with them, and take advantage of any favourable circumstances that might present themselves. The army having proceeded to Correll's ferry, and crossed the Delaware at that place, I immediately detached Colonel Morgan with a select corps of six hundred men to reinforce General Maxwell, and marched with the main body towards Princetown. The slow advance of the enemy had greatly the air of design, and led me, with others, to suspect that General Clinton, desirous of a General action, was endeavouring to draw us down into the lower country in order, by a rapid movement, to gain our right and take possession of the strong grounds above us. This consideration, and to give the troops time to repose and refresh themselves from the fatigue they had experienced from rainy and excessive hot weather, determined me to halt at Hopewell township, about five miles from Princetown, where we remained till the morning of the 25th.

"On the preceding day, I made a second detachment of fifteen hundred chosen troops, under Brigadier-General Scott, to reinforce those already in the vicinity of the enemy, the more effectually to annoy and delay their march. The next day the army moved to Kingston, and having received intelligence that the enemy were prosecuting their route to-

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wards Monmouth court-house, I dispatched a thousand select men under Brigadier-General Wayne, and sent the Marquis de la Fayette to take command of the whole advanced corps, including Maxwell's brigade, and Morgan's light-infantry, with orders to take the first opportunity of attacking the enemy's rear. In the evening of the same day the whole army marched from Kingston, where our whole baggage was left with intention to preserve a proper distance for supporting the advanced corps, and arrived at Cranberry early the next morning. The intense heat of the weather, and a heavy storm unluckily coming on, made it impossible to resume our march that day without great inconvenience and injury to the troops. Our advanced corps being differently circumstanced, moved from the position it had held the night before; took post in the evening, on the Monmouth road, about five miles from the enemy's rear; in expectation of attacking them next morning on their march. The main body having remained at Cranberry, the advanced corps was found to be too remote, and too far upon the right, to be supported either in case of an attack upon, or from the enemy, which induced me to send orders to the Marquis, to file off to his left, towards English-town, which he accordingly executed early in the morning of the 27th [June.]

"The enemy in marching from Allentown, had changed their disposition, and placed their best troops in the rear, consisting of all the grenadiers, light infantry, and chasseurs of the line. This alteration made it necessary to increase the number of our advanced corps; in consequence of which I detached Major-General Lee, with two brigades, to join the Marquis at English-town, on whom, of course, the command of the whole devolved, amounting to about five thousand men. The main body marched the same day, and encamped within three miles of that place. Morgan's corps was left hovering on the enemy's right flank, and the Jersey militia, amounting at this time, to about seven or eight hundred men, were under General Dickinson on their left. The enemy were now encamped in a strong position, with their right extending about a mile and a half beyond the court-house, in the parting of the roads, leading to Shrewsbury and Middletown, and their left along the road from Allen-town to Monmouth about three miles on this side of the court-house. Their right flank lay on the skirt of a small wood, while their left was covered with a thick one: A morass running towards their rear, and their whole front covered by a wood, and for a considerable extent towards the left with morasses. In this situation they halted till the morning of the 28th. Matters being thus suited, and having had the best information, that if the enemy were once arrived at the

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heights of Middletown, ten or twelve miles from where they were, it would be impossible to attempt any thing against them with a prospect of success, I determined to attack their rear, the moment they should get in motion from their present ground. I communicated my intention to General Lee, and ordered him to make his disposition for the attack, and to keep his troops constantly lying upon their arms to be in readiness at the shortest notice. This was done with respect to the troops under my immediate command.

About five in the morning, General Dickinson sent an express, informing that the front of the enemy had begun their march. I immediately put the army in motion, and sent orders by one of my aids for General Lee to move on, and attack them, unless there should be any powerful reasons to the contrary, acquainting him at the same time, that I was marching to support him, and for doing it with the greater expedition and dispatch should make the men disincumber themselves of their packs and blankets. After marching about five miles, to my great surprise and mortification, I met the whole advanced corps retreating; and, as I was told, by General Lee's order, without having made any opposition, excepting one fire given by the party under the command of Colonel Butler, on their being charged by the enemy's cavalry, who were repulsed; I proceeded immediately to the rear corps which I found closely pressed by the enemy and gave directions for forming part of the retreating corps, who, by the brave and spirited conduct of the officers, aided by some pieces of well served artillery, checked the enemy's advance, and gave time to make a disposition of the left wing and second line of the army, upon an eminence, and in a wood a little in the rear covered by a morass in front. On this were placed some batteries of cannon by Lord Stirling, who commanded the left wing, which played upon the enemy with great effect, and seconded by parties of infantry detached to oppose them; these effectually put a stop to their advance.

General Lee being detached with the advanced corps, the command of the right wing, for the occasion, was given to General Greene. For expedition of the march, and to counteract any attempt to turn our right, I had ordered them to file off by the new court-house, two miles from English-town, and fall into the Monmouth road a small distance in the rear of the court-house. On intelligence of the retreat he marched up, and took a very advantageous position on the right, the enemy by this time finding themselves warmly opposed in front, made an attempt to turn our left flank, but they were bravely repulsed and drawn back by detached parties of infantry. They also made a movement

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to our right with as little success, General Greene having advanced a body of troops with artillery to a commanding piece of ground, which not only disappointed their design of turning our right, but enfiladed those in front of the left wing. In addition to this, General Wayne advanced with a body of troops, and kept up so severe, and well directed fire, that the enemy there, were soon compelled to retire behind the defile; where the first stand in the beginning of the action had been made. In this situation the enemy had both their flanks secured by thick woods and morasses, while their front could only be approached by a narrow pass. I resolved nevertheless to attack them, and for that purpose ordered General Poor, with his own and the Carolina brigade to move round upon their right, and General Woodford upon their left, and the artillery to gall them in front; but the impediments in their way prevented their getting within reach before it was dark. They remained upon the ground they had been directed to occupy during the night, with intention to begin the attack early the next morning, and the army continued lying upon their arms in the field of action to be in readiness to support them. In the mean time the enemy were engaged in removing their wounded, and about twelve o'clock at night marched away in such silence, that though General Poor lay extremely near them, they effected their retreat without his knowledge. They carried off all their wounded except four officers, and about forty privates whose wounds were too dangerous to permit their removal. The extreme heat of the weather, the fatigue of the men from their march through a deep sandy country, almost entirely destitute of water, and the distance the enemy had gained by marching in the night, made a pursuit impracticable and fruitless; it would have answered no valuable purpose, and would have been fatal to numbers of our men, several of whom died the preceding day with heat. Was to conclude my account of this day's transactions, without expressing my obligations to the officers, and army in general I should do injustice to their merit, and violence to my own feelings. They seemed to vie with each other in manifesting their zeal and bravery. The catalogue of those who distinguished themselves is too long to admit of particularizing individuals. I cannot, however, forbear mentioning Brigadier-General Waine, whose good conduct and bravery through the whole action deserves particular commendation. "The particular situation of General Lee at this time, requires that I should say nothing of his conduct.

"He is now in arrest.

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"Being fully convinced, by the gentlemen of this country, that the enemy cannot be hurt or injured in their embarkation at Sandyhook, the place to which they are going, and unwilling to get too far removed from the North river, I put the troops in motion early this morning, and shall proceed that way."

The return makes the loss of Continentals to be sixty-nine killed, one hundred and forty-two wounded, and one hundred and thirty-two missing, many of the latter dropped through fatigue, and having recovered, returned to the camp.

The loss of the Royalists said to be two hundred and forty-five rank and file, killed and left on the field, twelve hundred and fifty-five wounded, one hundred and seventeen prisoners, and fifteen hundred and seventy-two deserted. Total of their loss after they left Philadelphia, three thousand one hundred and eighty-nine by the account circulated; but not having seen the return made to Sir Henry Clinton cannot determine this account to be accurate.

In Gen. Washington's general orders the next day after the battle, "He thanks most sincerely the gallant officers and men, who distinguished themselves on this occasion. He can with peculiar pleasure inform Gen. Knox and the officers of the artillery, that the enemy have done them the justice to acknowledge that no artillery could be better served than our's."

The night after the battle, the Royalists pushed for Middletown, from thence to Sandyhook, in their way to New-York.

Admiral Gambier arrived this month at New-York with twenty-five sail of transports under his convoy, and a few recruits for the Royal army.

The King of France considered the capture made by the British fleet, the 17th instant, as intended by England as the beginning of a war with France; he therefore issued his orders of this date for "Making reprisals on England for the insults offered his flag." At this period we may date the commencement of the war between England and France, the former being the aggressor, and began hostilities to testify their resentment against France for their friendship to the United States. June. 28.

General Washington, with his army, was pursuing their route by way of North River. General Gates, with a division of Continentals, encamped at White-plains, as a barrier to prevent the Royalists penetrating the country contiguous to New-York. July 3.

Admiral Count D'Estaing arrived off the Capes of Delaware from Toulon, with a fleet of ships under his command, consisting of sixteen sail, viz. July 10.

1778.	Guns.	Guns.	Guns.		
Languedoc	90	Protecteur	74	Sagitaire	50
Tonant	80	Guerrier	74	L'Engageant	36
Cæsar	74	Fantafque	64	Champion	30
Zelè	74	Proveacè	64	L'Alemene	26
Hector	74	Vailant	64	L'Amable	26
Marseilles	74				

In this fleet came about four thousand French troops, to co-operate with the forces of the United States. *M. Garard* also arrived in this fleet, being appointed by the Court of Versailles, Minister plenipotentiary to the United States; he landed at Chester, about fifteen miles from Philadelphia, and proceeded to the city. Mr. Commissioner *Deane* returned in this fleet, in consequence of a resolution of Congress "To inform them of the commercial matters he had transacted in France."

Congress having now returned to their former seat at Philadelphia, received a *second* letter from the British Commissioners, to which they *resolved* to give no answer. The conditions of a treaty mentioned in the letter Congress wrote them of the 17th of June, not being complied with, and the disgraceful conduct of one of the Commissioners in endeavouring to bribe one of their members, might be the reasons which induced Congress to take the above resolution. The circumstances relative to the bribery mentioned are thus related, and published at that time. "The Hon. Joseph Read, Esq. one of the delegates for Philadelphia, informed Congress of the means Governour *Johnstone* had used to seduce him to act a part injurious to his country. A lady residing at Philadelphia, who had connexion with the British (said to be Mrs. Ferguson, wife to the Secretary of the Commissioners) undertook to converse with him, and acquainted him that Governour *Johnstone* had expressed to her his wishes to engage Mr. Read's interest to promote the object of their commission, viz. a reconciliation between the two countries, if consistent with his principles and judgment, and that in such case, it would not be deemed unbecoming in government to take a favourable notice of such conduct, and that in this instance, he (Mr. Read) might have ten thousand pounds sterling, and any office in the Colonies in his Majesty's gift." Mr. Read's reply redounds greatly to his honour, and should not be omitted. He said, *he was not worth purchasing, but such as he was, the King of Great Britain was not rich enough to do it.*

The injudicious conduct of Governour *Johnstone*, ruined his credit with Congress, and caused them to withhold all correspondence with him; for as soon as Congress were acquainted with it, they passed the following resolves, viz.

"That the particulars mentioned in Mr. Read's declaration, in the opinion of Congress, cannot but be considered as direct attempts to corrupt and bribe the Congress of the United States.

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"That as Congress feel, so they ought to demonstrate, the highest and most pointed indignation against such doings and atrocious attempts to corrupt their integrity.

"That it is incompatible with the honour of Congress to hold any manner of correspondence with the said *George Johnstone*, Esq. especially to negotiate with him upon affairs in which the cause of liberty and virtue are interested; and for the propriety of such conduct, we make and publish to the world this our declaration."

Such was the result of Governour Johnstone's management, or rather *mismanagement*.

The settlement of Wyoming on Susquehannah river, suffered a general massacre of the inhabitants. Some who had been eye witnesses of the diabolical proceedings, having escaped, related the circumstances of the massacre, which was perpetrated by *Tories* and *Indians*; from the printed account we collect,

"That this settlement was made by the people of Connecticut on a grant of land purchased by them, under sanction of the government of Indian protectors; and these lands falling within the limits of the Pennsylvania claim, a dispute concerning the right, had arisen between the two governments, who had proceeded to frequent acts of hostilities. When it was at a height that threatened the disturbance of the other governments, Congress interposed, by whose recommendation and authority the decision of the dispute was suspended, till that with Great Britain, equally interesting to every American State, was concluded, when they might be more at leisure to attend to the other, and consider the justice of each claim."

The settlement consisted of eight townships, each containing five miles square (the river navigable for flat bottom boats) and produced large quantities of grain of all sorts, fruit, hemp, flax, &c. and stock of all kinds; inhabited by about a thousand families, who had furnished the Continental army with many hundred foldiers, &c. The *tory* inhabitants had given them some disturbance before General Harkermer's battle at Oneida creek; some of these had been active in stirring up the Indians to acts of hostility, after they got their liberty from the whig inhabitants, who had taken up, and secured them for a time. The settlers were suspicious of their design, and prepared themselves for defence; the Indians artfully pretended they were for peace, but their real design was discovered to the settlers by a drunken Indian. In the

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months of April and May, strolling parties of Indians and Tories made incursions.

In this manner began the destruction of *Wyoming*, and in this month it was completed; and (the account says) "All those flourishing settlements were reduced to a scene of desolation, and horror, beyond description, parallel, or credibility."*

July 29.

The King of Great Britain, issued orders to seize French property; these orders operated the same as a formal declaration of war against France.

August.

The city of New-York, which had suffered greatly by fire soon after the regulars had got possession, underwent a like disaster in the beginning of the month, and was immediately followed by a tremendous explosion occasioned by lightning, which struck an ordnance sloop in the east river, said to have on board two hundred and forty-five barrels of gunpowder, by which means the houses in that part of the city were much damaged.

Aug. 6.

Monsieur Gerard, the French Ambassador, had his first audience of the American Congress on this day.

Another expedition to *Newport* being planned, Count D'Estaing with his fleet from Sandy-Hook, anchored off Point Judith the 29th of July, and blocked up *Newport* harbour. An army was collected from the four New England States, who were joined by Glover's and Varnum's brigades from the continental army, the whole commanded by Major-General Sullivan. The Marquis de la Fayette, and Major-General Greene, came from the American camp to serve us as volunteers in this expedition. Many of the most respectable characters voluntarily engaged in it. Major-General Hancock, from Boston, undertook to command one division of the troops. The French troops, about four thousand, landed from the ships on Conanicut island, about three miles distant, but were afterwards taken on board again. The fleet made a movement into *Newport* harbour. In passing the enemy's batteries they were fired on, but received little damage.

Aug. 9.

On Sunday, about eight thousand troops landed on *Newport* island, and took possession of two of the enemy's forts, and the whole island north of their lines, about two miles from the town, without a gun fired on either side. The enemy evacuated them, and retired to their works nearer the town. The advance of the besieging army was compo-

* The particulars of the destruction were published in the American newspapers, and the British Annual Register for 1779.

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ed of the light troops, independent companies, and fifty men from each brigade, commanded by Colonel Livingston, the right wing of the army by Major-General Greene, the left by Marquis de la Fayette; the second line by Major-General Hancock, and the reserve by Colonel West. Thus far, matters succeeded to their wishes; but the events of war are uncertain.

On or about the 10th, Lord Howe, with the British fleet from New-York, appeared off the mouth of Newport harbour. His fleet consisted of twenty sail, thirteen of which were of the line. Count D'Estaing immediately put out after them, when a violent storm arose, and prevented his return in season to assist the army besieging Newport. The *Cæsar*, of seventy-four guns, had a smart engagement with one of the British, in which the French Captain lost an arm, and proceeded to Boston. The French fleet having suffered greatly in the storm, the Count was under a necessity of quitting the expedition and proceeding to Boston to repair his ships, where he arrived the 28th. This circumstance disconcerted the plan laid for regaining the island.

The enemy having intelligence of the movements of the besiegers, came out early in the morning of the 29th, with nearly their whole force, in two columns; they advanced in two roads and attacked the light corps, who made a brave resistance. General Sullivan's letter to Congress, mentions the particulars of the action, which lasted through the day and ended in the repulse of the enemy; they retired, and left him in possession of the ground, their loss being greater than his. After the action, his troops retired to camp, and the enemy employed themselves in fortifying their camp through the night. The loss, by a particular return made to the General, was, on his side, two hundred and eleven killed, wounded and missing. Some, who were taken prisoners at Newport, and came out on parole, reported that the Royalists had three hundred and six killed, and more than double that number wounded, and had left them eight thousand strong in Newport. The Royalists availed themselves of the departure of the French fleet, and Sir H. Clinton threw in large succours from New-York.

In the evening of the 30th, the day after the action, the General received a letter from General Washington, informing him that Lord Howe had sailed a second time with the fleet. At the same time he received intelligence that a fleet was off Block-Island, and finding by the intelligence from Boston, that the French fleet could not be repaired in season, so as to aid his operations against Newport, it was unanimously agreed, in council of war, to quit the island. The next (General Sullivan's letter takes notice) proved how

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timely his retreat took place, as an hundred sail of the enemy ships arrived in the harbour, the morning after the retreat. This was accomplished on Sunday the 30th; the army bringing off with them all their baggage, stores, &c. without suffering any loss or damage, while doing it. In the general orders issued by General Sullivan, he "Cognates his army upon a retreat from an island in the face of an enemy of superior force, and who had besides the command of the water. Under these circumstances, to perform a retreat without any confusion or disorder, must reflect the highest honour on the brave troops he had the honour to command.

In this manner ended the *third* expedition undertaken to recover Newport from the Royalists.

This month the trial of Major-General Lee came on at Brunswick before a Court Marshal appointed for the purpose. The charges exhibited against him were, viz.

"The disobedience of orders, in not attacking the enemy the 28th of June, agreeable to repeated instructions.

"For misbehaviour before the enemy on the same day in making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat.

"For disrespect to the Commander in Chief, in two letters dated June 28, and July 1."

The Court were of opinion, that he was guilty; and their sentence was, "That Major-General Lee be suspended from his command in the armies of the United States, for the space of twelve months.*

[In 1753, this officer was a Lieutenant in the British army. In 1772, he was promoted to the rank of Lieut. Colonel, and his name was in the army list till 1775, during which time he received half pay. Report says that being disgusted at not being raised to the rank of a full Colonel, when a vacancy presented, he left England, came to America and resided in Virginia at the commencement of the American war, in which he early engaged, and Congress appointed him a Major-General in their army. Being taken prisoner by the enemy he was detained by them at New-York, for many months but being exchanged he returned to his command in the Continental army. He is described to have been a person of abilities, education, and bravery, but appears to have had a larger share of ambition than was consistent with the respect due to the orders of a superiour officer.]

* In January, 1780, Congress dismissed him from his rank in the Continental army, and he retired from it. In October 2, 1782, he died at Philadelphia. A volume of his writings, with his life, have since been published.

General Gray, from New-York with a detachment of British troops, burnt the town of *New-Bedford*, in Dartmouth, in the State of Massachusetts bay.

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Sept. 6.

About the middle of this month, arrived at New-York, from Halifax, Admiral Byron, with a Squadron of British men of war, to obstruct the operations of Count D'Estaing, in America, and to support and aid the King's naval force, already on that station. His fleet suffered much in their passage from England, and were not in a condition for service, for near a month after their arrival. Lord Howe having resigned his command of the fleet at New-York, to Admiral Gambier, he prepared for his return to England.

Governour Johnstone, finding he could not act with Congress in the character of a Commissioner, accompanied Lord Howe in his voyage to England.

Dr. Ferguson, Secretary to the British Commissioners, forwarded sundry papers to Congress, viz. a declaration signed "George Johnstone," another signed by Carlisle, Clinton, and Eden, and a third declaration signed by the three last mentioned Commissioners, containing a requisition relative to Burgoyne's troops, captured last year at Saratoga. Governour Johnstone's declaration respects the resolve of Congress, relative to his attempt on the fidelity of one of their members, which resolve he imputes to be calculated by Congress to delude the people of America and to defeat the design of the Commissioners in effecting an accommodation, which (he says) *he* would not by any means prevent; and therefore declines acting any more as a Commissioner. The second declaration sets forth, "That the other three Commissioners had not any knowledge of the conduct of Governour Johnstone, in tampering with Congress, till they read it in the newspapers."

This paper contains reflections on France, and asserts "That the offers of France to the American Commissioners were, was in consequence of a plan of accommodation proposed by Britain." It also expresses "Their astonishment that this people should prefer an *alliance* with France (if we understand their meaning) to a *submission* to the government of England." In the third declaration they demand an immediate release of Burgoyne's troops, and to induce to a compliance, they offer to ratify on the part of Great Britain, the articles of the Saratoga convention.

In what light, Congress viewed this offer may be seen by their resolve, viz. "That no ratification of the convention of Saratoga, which may be tendered in consequence of power, which may reach that case by construction and implication, or which may subject whatever is transacted relative to the future approbation, or disapprobation of the Parliament of Great Britain, can be accepted by Congress."

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W. H. Drayton, Esq. (one of the South-Carolina delegates) in a letter published* and addressed to the three Commissioners' answers to the foregoing declarations, and examines with precision the proceedings of Parliament, relative to the conciliatory plan. He justifies the conduct of France, and proves from the Parliamentary debates, "That the offers of France made on the 16th December, 1777, was at a point of time, when every public intimation that could be given of a perseverance in measures of coercion on the part of Great Britain, *actually and clearly existed*;" which nullifies the assertion of the Commissioners, mentioned above, "That the offers were made by France, in consequence of a plan of accommodation previously concerted in Great Britain."

The German-Flats, a fine fertile country, consisting of about one hundred houses, situated on both sides the Mohawk river, was laid in ashes by the Royalists—the inhabitants having timely notice, escaped.

Major-General Lord Stirling at this time commanding a division of Continentals in the Jerseys, wrote to Congress a relation of the *massacre* of some of *Colonel Baylor's* regiment of horse, who were surprized the latter end of this month in a barn in Harrington, near Tapan, by a party of Royalists, headed by a tory. "On its being intimated to me," says his Lordship, "that Congress was desirous to know the particulars of the massacre of Colonel Baylor's regiment I desired Dr. Griffith, surgeon and chaplain to General Woodford's brigade, and who attends Colonel Baylor, and the other wounded prisoners, to collect all the evidence he could of that barbarous affair. I have just now received collections on that horrid subject." The collection contains the affidavits and depositions of a number of soldiers belonging to that unfortunate regiment, who solemnly declare, that after they had surrendered, and asked for quarter it was refused. *Thomas Hutchinson*, sergeant of the third troop, escaped unhurt, but heard the British soldiers cry out "Sliver him," repeatedly. *Cullency*, of the first troop, who received twelve wounds, says, "That when the enemy entered the barn where his troop lay, he and the men asked for quarter and were refused; that the British Captain, Bull of the second light infantry, after enquiring how many of the rebels were dead, on being told the number, ordered all the rest to be knocked on the head, and that his orders were executed on five or six of the wounded." *Benson*, of the second troop, received also twelve wounds, he declared he heard the men in the barn with him, ask for quarter, which was returned with wounds, and abusive language; he thought it in vain to ask for quarter himself, as he heard the soldiers

* See this letter printed in the public paper.

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reply to the others that begged it "that their Captain had ordered them to stab all and make no prisoners." *Thomas Talbot* of the sixth troop received six wounds; he declared "That after the enemy had taken him and partly stripped him, the soldiers enquiring of their Captain, what should be done with him, he ordered him to be killed, and after that, he received six wounds in his breast with their bayonets at different times." *Southward*, of the fifth troop says, "That five men out of thirteen of their regiment, in the barn with him, were killed outright, and the rest, except himself, bayonnetted; that he heard the British officer order his men to put all to death, and afterwards ask, if they had finished all—that they offered quarters to some, who on surrendering themselves, they bayonnetted." The depositions of seven others attested by Governour Livingston, of the Jerseys, confirm the above declarations. *Mr. Morris*, Lieutenant and Adjutant in Baylor's regiment received seven wounds; he solemnly declared that upon begging his life after he had surrendered, they replied yes, d—n ye, we will give you quarters, and then rushed on and stabbed him with their bayonets, and stripped him of all his clothes,

The latter end of this month an hazardous enterprize was undertaken and bravely executed by Major Silas Talbot of the State of Rhode-Island, in a small sloop mounting only two carriage guns, having on board about sixty volunteers. They ran along-side the *Pigot* galley, belonging to the British, stationed at Seconnet passage, near Newport, which they boarded and took, and conducted her safely to Providence. The *Pigot* was well manned, had a heavy bow gun, and mounted eight twelve pounders.

The last manifesto or proclamation of the British Commissioners at New-York, was published and circulated through the United States, it was addressed "To the members of Congress, the members of the General Assemblies or Conventions of the several colonies, plantations and provinces, &c. and all the other inhabitants of every rank and denomination," and signed by three of the Commissioners, viz. Carlisle, Clinton and Eden; it was to be in force forty days from the date. It offers a *general* or *separate* peace to the colonies, with the revival of their ancient government secured against future infringements, and protected forever from taxation by Great Britain, *if they would relinquish their independence, break their faith with France, and submit to the British yoke.* This seems to be the plain English construction of the terms on which they offer peace; but if the United States would not comply with them, then the manifesto suggests, "They were to expect more severe expressions of British vengeance."

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The manifesto contains also a recapitulation of what the Commissioners call the blessings they are impowered to confer, and a warning of the continued train of evils to which the colonies (in which description this manifesto places them) are at present blindly and obstinately exposing themselves, &c. &c.

The Commissioners explicitly declared that they had *neither authority or inclination* to acknowledge the colonies to be independent—and Congress having informed them “That they would treat with Great Britain on no other terms;” it put an end to the negotiation, and the Commissioners prepared to leave the continent.

Oct. 30.

This day Congress published their reply to the *declarations* of the Commissioners, after mentioning the cause of America taking up arms, that it was the oppressive and tyrannous measures of Great Britain, and briefly reciting the cruelties that had hitherto been exercised by their troops and navy, acting against the States; they say, “That since their incorrigible dispositions cannot be touched by kindness and compassion, it becomes the duty of Congress, by other means, to vindicate the rights of humanity,” and conclude with the following words: “That if our enemies presume to execute their threats, and persist in their present mode of barbarity we will take such exemplary vengeance as shall deter others from a like conduct.” They appeal to that God who searcheth the hearts of all men for the rectitude of their intentions, and in his holy presence declare, “That as they are not moved by any light, or hasty suggestions of anger, or revenge; so through every possible change of fortune they shall adhere to this their determination.”

The Somerset man of war of sixty-four guns foundered in Boston bay.

Nov. 5.

Count D’Estaing, with the French fleet, sailed from Boston. Their particular destination unknown at this time, to any but the Admiral, whose characteristick was to conduct his affairs with great secrecy. Admiral Byron with a squadron of British ships came on the New England coast to intercept him, but missed his aim. The same day the Count Boston, Commodore Hotham happened to sail from Sandyhook with some men of war and transports, having on board General Grant, with five thousand troops for the West-Indies.

Nov. 14.

Lord Carlisle and William Eden, Esqr. two of the British Commissioners, embarked at New-York for England—accompanied by General Earl Cornwallis.

Dec. 3.

Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell, who embarked at New-York the 27th of the last month, on an expedition to Georgia, arrived there the third day of December. The

British had for a considerable time, previous to this undertaking, employed agents in the remote and interior parts of that country to tamper with the inhabitants, enlisting them into the British service, and swearing them to secrecy.

A consideration of this circumstance, the previous enlistment of the inhabitants, together with that other, the number of *Scots* inhabiting the southern States will check our surprize at Colonel Campbell's success so soon after his arrival.

Commodore Hyde Parker anchored in Savannah river, the day after Colonel Campbell had arrived. The Royalists made an incursion with about 3000 troops, assisted by the loyal inhabitants. (The *Cherokee* Indians were invited into their service, but they declined going to war at this time.)

General Prevost, with a force from St. Augustine, took possession of Sunbury, while Colonel Campbell got possession of the town of Savannah. He also gained an advantage over a body of Carolina forces under General Howe of that State, who were posted at some distance from the town to oppose their progress; but unluckily for the Carolinians, the enemy marched secretly through a swamp or morass, by a path made known to them by a negro. "The happy face of the ground (says Colonel Campbell's account) favoured the concealment of this manœuvre, and gave opportunity of getting in the rear of General Howe's troops, and the British line advancing forward, made a sudden attack, and succeeded." Colonel Campbell gives a very splendid account of his success. He says "That thirty-eight officers of different ranks, fell into his hands; four hundred and fifty non-commission officers and privates, one stand of colours, forty-eight pieces of cannon, twenty-three mortars, ninety-four barrels of powder, the fort with all its stores, and the capital of Georgia, the shipping in the harbour, and a large quantity of provisions;" and all this was done (according to the Colonel's account) without any other loss on the side of the Royalists, than that of a Captain, and two privates killed, and eleven wounded. On the side of the conquered eighty were found dead and eleven wounded. [This is contrary to what generally happens; the greatest number being usually of the wounded; but the above is the *conqueror's* account.]

After this success the enemy marched to Cherokee-hill, and took possession of the town of *Ebenezer*, about thirty miles from Savannah, and then advanced fifty miles above it. These successes were indeed flattering, and the fortunate commander anticipated the conquest of that whole country in one campaign; but their progress and prospects were soon after checked.

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Dec. 11.

The *Royalists* struck a severe blow in the northern quarter. A body consisting of about seven hundred Indians, Tories and soldiers went to *Cherry-valley*, a settlement about sixty miles above Albany, which they destroyed, massacred several of the inhabitants, men, women and children, with *Col. Alden* of Duxbury, Massachusetts State (who commanded a party of about two hundred and fifty continental troops stationed there) and made prisoners of the Lieutenant-Colonel and many of the inhabitants. The account of this tragical affair says, "That one hundred and eighty of the surviving inhabitants had neither house, nor provisions, and were almost naked, and destitute of money to provide themselves with necessaries." The reporter says further, "That three men were killed, all the rest were helpless women and children."

This month, the last *manifesto* published in America by the British Commissioners, became a subject of animadversion in both Houses of Parliament. The *Marquis of Rockingham* called the attention of the House of Lords to it, and holding it in his hand, said, "It was a proclamation contrary to humanity, to christianity, and to every idea of virtuous policy." An objection being made to introducing papers into the House without first addressing his Majesty for leave—and the Marquis having made a motion for such an address, The *Bishop of Peterborough* arose and said, "That in the account of the extraordinaries of the army for the last year, charges were made for the *tomahawk* and *scalping-knife*, that is for the Indians in our service exercising their horrid butcheries, and he supposed from the proclamation, such expense would be continued. It is our duty to act as christians, to soften the horrors of war," &c. *Lord Camden* said, "The declaration in the proclamation held forth a *war of revenge*, such as *Moloch* in *Pandemonium* of hell, advised, that the proclamation ought to be damned, for it would fix an inveterate hatred in the Americans, against the very name of Englishman, which would be left as a legacy from father to son, to the latest posterity;" he added, "That the Lords should consider, that they were christians, and that their enemies were the same."

In the House of Commons a motion was made by *Mr. Cooke*, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to express their dissatisfaction with those passages in the manifesto which indicates "That hitherto considering that America would again return to her allegiance, and be a source of advantage to Great Britain, they had refrained from the extremes of war, and the desolation of the country, but that the war would assume a different shape if America joined

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herself with France, that she might be rendered of little service to that power," and pray his Majesty to disavow all knowledge of that passage." Mr. Burke, gave his sense of "The extremes of war," they meant he said the killing man, woman, and child, burning their houses, ravaging their lands, annihilating humanity from off the face of the earth, or rendering it so wretched that death would be preferable." He asked, against whom is the dreadful menace pronounced? Not against the virulent, and the guilty; but against those who, conscious of rectitude, acted to the best of their ability in a good cause, and stood up to fight for freedom, and their country." Lord George Germain spoke on the other side in the debate, and attempted to soften, and explain away the rigour of the expressions, by saying, "That the calamities threatened, would be confined within the bounds of necessity." He would not agree that any censure should be thrown on the Commissioners. The majority prevailed, and Mr. Cooke's motion did not obtain. Many of the patriotic Lords and gentlemen reprobated it, but the greater part excused and palliated it.

On the House of Lords resisting the motion, "To express their displeasure at the manifesto," thirty-one of them entered their protest. "We choose (say these noble protestors) to draw ourselves out and to distinguish ourselves to posterity, as not being the first to renew, to approve, or to tolerate, the return of that ferocity which a beneficial religion, enlightened manners, and true military honour had for a time banished the christian world.*

* Amongst these nobles are the names of Rockingham, Peterborough, St. Asaph, Grafton, Richmond, Abingdon, Manchester, Portland, Effingham, Coventry, Camden, &c. &c.

"Ten of the noble Lords who protested, their fortunes all together, make up above £200,000 sterling per year. Yet these are the men, whose sentiments must avail nothing at so critical and important a period.

"Three of the right Reverend, the bench of Bishops, Drs. Forke, Hurd, and (the Bishop of London) Dr. Lowth, struck with the frequent appeals made by the minority Lords to their feelings and christianity, went out of the house before the division on the motion) not being able to reconcile a manifesto to their consciences, which so dishonoured the holy religion which they profess. The Bishop of St. Asaph [Shipley] and Peterborough [Hinchcliffe] the true disciples of their mild and merciful master, headed the minority division, but the good Archbishop of York, Dr. Markham stayed behind in order to assist in giving the Americans another flogging."

See Parker's General Advertiser, of Saturday, December 12, 1778.

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General Washington cantoned his troops in the Jerseys, Pecks-Kill, and Connecticut, during the winter of 1778.

The prevalence of *monopoly*, and *extortion*, had called the attention of Congress to devise means that had the most probable tendency to suppress those growing evils, and being of opinion that *regulating laws were absolutely necessary*, they divided the thirteen United States into two districts, and recommended to their respective legislatures to appoint a convention to establish a regulation of prices.

The eastern district, *New England*, complied with the recommendation. A convention met at Newhaven (Connect.) and formed a plan of regulation; laid it before the legislatures of their respective States; and it being approved by them, was put into practice by almost all the States, *excepting the Massachusetts*. A writer says* "The Recusants of that State prevented its universal execution."

The Massachusetts' reasons for so doing they submitted to the determination of Congress, who had it in their power (says this writer) to refuse or overrule them. Congress however did neither; but on the contrary, on the 4th of June, 1778, passed the following extraordinary resolve, viz. "Whereas by a change of circumstances in the commerce of the States, the regulation of prices lately recommended by Congress may be unnecessary, and the measure not being yet adopted by all the States, therefore resolved, that it be recommended to the legislatures of the several States that have adopted it, to suspend or repeal their laws made for this purpose."

By this extraordinary resolve, the advantages expected from laws made in conformity to their recommendation, six months before, were entirely frustrated, and the evils they were intended to remove, rapidly increased.

Laws were designed to curb and restrain the passions of men, and keep them within the bounds of moderation, and as the avarice of the people have almost universally overleaped those bounds, the utility of the above regulation is apparent; it had a view of keeping the prices of necessaries within reasonable bounds, and the currency from coming to nothing; which it probably would have effected, had the authority of Congress been exercised to put it in execution. The Massachusetts must have submitted, and the regulation become universal, whereby the indigent would have been relieved and the crying necessities of the armies been prevented. Upon a supposed change in the state of our commerce, or (in other words) that regulation which was well and wholesome for the causes assigned at the time it was recommended, was, it seems, grown

* *The Real Farmer*, No. 4—in *New-York Journal*.

unnecessary by a change of the state of our commerce consisting in an increase of those causes. Were the most detestable private vices become public virtues? Were the commercial practices originally infamous, so transformed in six months by a change in the state of our commerce as to become laudable? If so let this change be pointed out; or rather, was not the only change, an increase of those evils which Congress intended to pluck up by the roots? If there was a right originally to apply regulating laws as remedy for the mischiefs, the necessity of that remedy has daily increased with the mischief.

Notwithstanding the opinion of the writer expressed above, yet we cannot doubt but that Congress acted with a sincere desire for the general happiness, when they recommended a suspension or repeal of the regulating laws—people were divided in their sentiments respecting legislative regulations of trade, some contending that *trade will regulate itself*; whilst others tired with waiting for such a *natural* regulation, and seeing no bounds to the avarice and extortion that prevailed, called for the interference of legislative power.

The Secretary to the Committee of Congress for foreign affairs,* under the signature of "Common sense:" In his strictures upon Mr. Deane's conduct, as an American Commissioner in France, holds up the idea, that a supply of arms and ammunition shipped at France about two years ago was a *present* to the United States, notwithstanding, which a large sum was afterwards demanded for them of Congress.

The French Ambassador, resident at Philadelphia, viewed this as a reflection derogatory to the honour of his nation, and presented a memorial to Congress, which produced a resolve, wherein they say, "They were convinced by indisputable evidence that the said supplies *were not a present*, nor did his most Christian Majesty preface his alliance, with any supplies whatever sent over to America."

In a printed letter of 13th February. The Secretary explains his meaning: That the *present was not from the Crown*, but from some public spirited gentlemen in France, who in the spring made a subscription to send a present to America, in money, arms, and ammunition; soon after this offer, Mr. Deane arrived at Paris as commercial agent for America, upon which the whole affair took a new turn, and he entered into a commercial concern with Mr. Beaumarchais for the same quantity which had been offered as a present. In 1777, Mr. Francy arrived in America to demand and settle the mode of payment for those supplies; the letter says, "Mr.

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* Mr. T. Paine.

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Deane had negotiated a proffered present into a purchase.

The Ambassador presented also another memorial to Congress grounded on a report, "That the United States had preserved the liberty of treating with Great Britain *separately* from their ally."

To satisfy the Minister on this point, Congress passed the following resolve, viz.

"That as neither France, nor these United States may or right, so these United States *will not* conclude either truce or peace with the common enemy without the formal consent of their ally, first obtained, and that any matter and things which may be insinuated or asserted to the contrary thereof tends to the injury and dishonour of said States."

The Marquis de la Fayette, at his request, had a furlough to pay a visit to France. This young French nobleman General Washington characterizes, "As uniting to all the military fire of youth, an uncommon maturity of judgment." In testimony of the sense Congress had of his services they directed their minister in France to present him with an elegant sword.

Feb.

The *British cruizers* having captured some *Dutch ships* bound to France, Count Wildren, their Ambassador in London, presented to the Secretary of State, Lord Suffolk, a memorial respecting their restitution. An offer was made by the British government to purchase the naval stores, and pay the freight; but their High Mightinesses refused, and insisted upon the ships and cargoes being restored. These proceedings occasioned dissensions in the republic of Holland. The partizans in favour of the views of Britain respecting America, embarrassed the measures taken by the States General for supporting their neutral rights and protecting the free trade of Holland, Amsterdam, Zele, and Zepland, were warm for insisting upon this right, and co-operating with France, in preventing a *monopoly* of the American trade ever returning into the hands of Britain.

The demand of the Court of London, for twelve ships of the line, and the land forces, which by treaty, Holland were to furnish them with, in case France declared war against England; was the occasion of much altercation. The merchants and inhabitants opposed a compliance with this demand, complaining that the most unjust depredations had been made upon their trade, under pretence of stopping supplies going to France and America. That great part of their Norway trade had been taken, and no satisfaction given on that head. The merchants of Amsterdam led in their remonstrances, and represented to the States General "That

their fleet and army should not be employed for the support of a power that would ruin their commerce, and would monopolize the trade of the whole world."

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In this situation were matters between England and Holland at the beginning of this year.

Feb. 24.

Colonel *Henry Hamilton*, who had acted as Lieutenant-Governor at *Detroit*, under Sir Guy Carlton, and who had employed his emissaries to harass the frontiers of Virginia and Philadelphia, was taken, with his principal associates at *Fort Sackville*, he having surrendered the fortress to Colonel Clarke, this day. They were conducted to Virginia—the Council of that State taking into consideration the excessive cruelties they had committed on the subjects of the United States, resolved "To address the Governor, that *Hamilton*, *Dejean*, and *Latouche*, be put in irons, confined in the dungeon of the publick gaol, debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper, and excluded all converse, except with their keepers." And the Governor ordered accordingly. This is the first instance of retaliation on the part of the States, and though severe, their conduct will justify to the world, the necessity and wisdom of the punishment. The Council of Virginia, published an account of the proceedings relative to an enquiry into the prisoners' conduct, which recites some of the enormities committed by them, and under their orders,* and mark them, as devoid of all humanity towards those unfortunate persons who fell into their hands.

The Royal army was in motion, and a detachment of troops from King's-bridge were ordered to Horse-neck with design to surprise the Continentals there, and destroy the salt works. Major-General Putnam who commanded a small division of Continentals in Connecticut, writes thus to the commander in chief: "The enemy were discovered at New-Rochelle on their advance by a small scout, whom they attacked, and obliged to retire over Byram-bridge, which they took up, and secured their retreat." He formed his small body of troops near the meeting-house, ready to receive, and check the enemy, and ordered parties on both flanks to prevent the enemy's design of turning their flanks, and possessing themselves of a defile in his rear, which if they had gained would effectually cut off their retreat. A column of the enemy advanced up the main road, where the remainder of General Putnam's troops, amounting only to sixty, were posted, who discharged some old field pieces, and gave a small fire of musquetry. The superiority of the enemy soon o-

* See Mr. John Dodge's printed narrative of his sufferings, while their prisoner.

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bliged this small party to abandon the place. The General then directed them to form on a hill, a little distance from Horse-neck, while he proceeded to Stamford, and collected a body of militia, and a few Continental troops, with which he returned, and found the enemy were going off, after plundering the inhabitants of the principal part of their effects, destroying a few salt works, a small vessel and store. The few troops from Stamford pursued them, and picked up of the stragglers, thirty-eight; also, two waggons laden with ammunition and plunder, they had taken at Horse-neck, which was returned to their owners.

About the same time another detachment consisting of about a thousand of the thirty-third and forty-second, and light infantry of the British guards, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Sterling, embarked at Long-Island, for the Jerseys; they were conducted through a difficult march to Woodroff's farm; their design was to surprise Elizabethtown, and General Maxwell's troops quartered there; but the guards at Craze's ferry discovered them, and gave the alarm. The Continental troops were immediately collected and marched to the rear of the town, where the whig inhabitants had retired. A detachment of the enemy were sent to the Governor's [Livingston] house, but being from home he escaped them, while the main body advanced to the skirts of the town, till they fell into the Brunswick road, on the right. They being soon discovered and disappointed in their plan, their stay in the town was short, but mischievous; they set fire to all the barracks, a school-house, in which were some provisions, and a blacksmith's shop, &c. When they began their retreat to their boats, General Maxwell marched such of his troops as he had in reserve, against their rear; the number of these, however, were small, several parties having been detached at different times to hang upon them. The enemy perceiving their rear in danger, faced about, and paraded as if for action. A few well directed shot from the Continental artillery, induced them to renew their retreat, which being too dangerous at the ferry, they moved above a mile up Newark-bay, while the troops marched along the meadow's edge, in many places up to their middle in mud and water. A galley, and two or three gun-boats covered their retreat. The loss on the Continental side did not exceed twenty, killed, wounded, and missing. Another account says, "That Maxwell's troops retook the cattle, the Royalists had taken, and drove them to their boats; that they left behind a considerable number of their dead, and embarked with great precipitation."

A summary of the military operations in Georgia, &c. from the fourth of January last to this date.

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The British commanders, *Campbell* and *Parker*, issued a proclamation, informing the loyalists "That they were arrived in those States for their relief and protection, and invited them to the royal standard, to unite their force, with promises of protection from oppression and slavery, and ample satisfaction for the injuries they had received from the rebellious Americans. The same promises were made to all other well disposed inhabitants, who, from a just regard to the blessings of peace, reprobate the idea of supporting a French league insidiously framed, &c." Encouraged by this proclamation, a number of *tories* armed themselves in South-Carolina, and set off for Georgia to comply with the terms of the proclamation, and join the royal army, but were intercepted by a party ordered by General Lincoln of the Continental army (now commanding in this quarter) who fell in with and killed a considerable number in their conflict with them.

The progress of the Royalists in Georgia was at first very rapid, but it was succeeded with a reverse of fortune. In several skirmishes they lost their ground, were obliged to retreat hastily, and with great loss. At Port-royal island, Colonel Skirving's regiment beat the British light infantry. Their commander, Major Gardiner, and some of his principal officers, were badly wounded; they retired, leaving some officers and privates dead on the field. At or near Beaufort General Moultrie defeated a detachment. They were driven back to Savannah so hastily as to leave a commissioned officer, one sergeant, and three privates wounded in a house near the action, and their dead lying on the field: This body of the enemy was composed of picked light infantry.

On the 14th of February, Col. Pickens defeated at Georgia a large body of the disaffected, from six to eight hundred, killed their two principal leaders, above twenty privates, wounded many, and took some prisoners: Nor did Colonel Campbell fare much better in his progress from Savannah to Augusta. Gen. Williamson having on the 16th of February, destroyed the boats he had constructed to cross the river, forced him to retreat so precipitately as to leave his wounded behind. The Highlanders and Brown's Rangers retreated down the country, leaving all the back countries of Georgia, and a tory regiment said to have been three years enlisting. Some of the Creek Indians having been induced by a British deputy to assist the Royalists in Georgia, a large body of them, with about forty Che-

1779. rokees, set off to join them. General Williamson of the
 March 31. Carolina militia having got intelligence of it, detached a party under Colonels Hammond and Pickens into the Indian country, to prevent the fatal junction of Britons and Savages. But the enemy being apprized of their approach on the 21st of March, they abandoned and burnt their fort; however, some of them were overtaken and made prisoners; eight of them were killed among whom were two Chiefs of the Creeks. Another detachment being sent by General Williamson to cross Savannah river to facilitate the operations of Colonel Hammond; upon discovery, the British commander sent orders to the Carolina loyalists to attack them, with the assistance of the Georgia militia. In consequence of which an engagement ensued which lasted two hours, when the enemy gave way, leaving their commander, and several others dead on the field. Colonel Sharp, of the Georgia militia, was mortally wounded.

April 7. An expedition was undertaken against the *Onondago* tribe of Indians, who were settled west of Albany, on *Onondago* river, about twenty-five miles from the *Oneida*. They having acted treacherously; some under the mask of friendship, treating with Continental deputies; while others of them were aiding the Royalists.

The direction of this enterprise was given to Brigadier-General James Clinton, who committed the execution of it, to *Colonel Van Schaick*, Commander of the first battalion of New-York Continental troops. He had the assistance of Lieutenant Colonel Willet and Major Cockran of the third New-York battalion; the detachment under them consisted of six companies of New-York, one of Pennsylvania, one of Massachusetts, and one of rifles; amounting in the whole to five hundred and four rank and file, who rendezvoused at Fort Schuyler, and from thence began their march. The whole of the Indian settlements in that quarter, consisting of about fifty houses, and a large quantity of grain, &c. were burnt; their stock killed, about one hundred musquets were among the plunder, and the destruction of their settlements completed. On return of the Continentals, they met some little interruption from a small party of Indians who fired on them, but was soon beat back by Lieutenant Evans' riflemen. They returned to Fort Schuyler in five days and an half from their march from thence; the whole distance, going and returning, was one hundred and eighty miles.

May. The State of *Virginia* was invaded by a force from New-York, under Sir George Collier, and Major-General Matthews. On their arrival they took the fort at Portsmouth, the Commander of which thought it prudent to abandon it,

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after spiking the cannon. The *Royalists* burnt several houses and destroyed a number of vessels. Afterwards they marched and took the town of Suffolk, and burnt a considerable part of it. Two letters* from that quarter relating this expedition of the British, exhibit new scenes of cruelty and devastation; in one of these letters dated the 22d of this month, the letter writer says, "After burning Suffolk and some whig houses in the vicinity, the enemy divided their force, and marched part for South-quay, and part for Smithfield, a little town higher up James River. I wish not (says the letter writer) unjustly to brand an enemy with cruelty, and inhumanity, but, alas! stubborn facts too fully justify the charges. A gentleman from near Suffolk, assures me, they dragged a gentleman of consequence, both in publick and private life, an inhabitant of Nausemond county, together with his daughters, from their house, carried them on board their shipping, and there, while the wretched father was loaded with chains, the still more wretched daughters (if more wretched it were possible to be) became victims to the lusts of these monsters of hell. Captain Davis was shot down as he sat in the room with his family. Miss D——, a young lady of great merit, who was carried on board this fleet, has not been heard of since." In another letter, dated Smithfield, 13th of May, Colonel Lawson informs the Governour of Virginia, "That household furniture, stock of all kinds, horses, and in short, almost every species of perishable property, are effectually destroyed, with unrelenting fury; murder, rape, rapine and violence filled up the dark catalogue of their detestable transactions." They surprised and took a small body of Frenchmen, whom they murdered immediately on the spot.

The Royalists were now fulfilling the threats of the Commissioners in their last manifesto, and may properly be called "The extremes of war."

Congress made choice of Messrs. Dickinson, Lawrens and Smith, as a committee to consider the most eligible mode of negotiating a foreign loan, to what amount, and in what manner it might be advantageously applied to the use of the United States.

The seventy-fourth regiment, called *Athol's* Highlanders, arrived at New-York this month to reinforce the Royal army there.

Towards the close of the month, Sir Henry Clinton and

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June.

* These letters appeared in the publick papers with the real names of their writers.

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Sir George Collier, with all the British force, naval and military (excepting six companies left to garrison New-York) moved down north river. Whether the objects of this expedition were to reconnoitre the river, and attack West-Point, or to establish a post at Stoney-Point was not known unless to themselves; it is certain, however, that notwithstanding all their parade, they accomplished nothing material excepting some labour at Stoney-Point to make it impregnable, which they supposed they had done—burning a few houses, and taking the small fort La Fayette, constructed on the east side of the river, which contained a garrison of fifty men, who surrendered by capitulation. The whole armament then returned to New-York in safety.

June 30.

Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and Sir Hyde Parker, having returned to England and reported the wonders they had done at Georgia, they were rewarded, the former with a Colonel's commission, and the latter with a flag. On their departure from Georgia, the command devolved upon General *Prevost* (late of St. Augustine) who, by various movements approached *Charleston*, the capital of South-Carolina. Major General *Lincoln* being in his rear, and General *Moultrie* in his front, he took up all the bridges near their route and the several stations he had occupied to prevent the junction of those two Generals, but they had made dispositions to counteract General *Prevost's* designs. He had his head quarters near *Beaufort*. His force computed to be three thousand. Count *Polaski*, of the Continentals, in a smart skirmish with them, had his horse shot under him.

Congress published a letter from Lieutenant-Governor *Bee* to Governor *Henry* of Virginia, dated *Charleston* May 5, which relates their situation at that time, "That the enemy were then within sixty-five miles of the capital, and pursuing General *Moultrie*, who, with about fifteen hundred, were retiring before them. Governor *Rutledge* with about three hundred and fifty, had marched to join Gen. *Lincoln*." The next account given by the Carolinians was, "That though the enemy by the superiority of their numbers had obliged them to quit several posts, and retreat within five miles of the capital; yet here the enemy stopped, and desisted from the prosecution of their original purpose; probably owing to intelligence that General *Lincoln* was advancing fast upon their rear, and the garrison at *Charleston*, stronger than he had expected."

General *Moultrie's* army was composed chiefly of militia whose families, and effects, lay in the way of the enemy, and was every moment diminishing; this laid him under the

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necessity of retreating, and he arrived at the town the beginning of May. On the 8th, Count Polaski got there with part of his legion; the 9th, Colonel Mackintosh from Beacon-bridge, and a detachment from Orangeburg arrived. The next day Colonel Harris (who had been sent by General Lincoln to reinforce Moultrie) with three hundred Continentals, and Colonel Noel, with three hundred men more, got into the town. The forces collected there, were determined to defend it.

General Prevost, with his troops, encamped on the south side of Ashly-ferry, where they appeared so suddenly as to prevent the ferry-boats being destroyed. The troops stationed at Charleston, both regulars and militia, were under arms the whole night, of the 10th of May. The next day, the enemy began to cross Ashly-ferry, their advanced party composed of light infantry, cavalry, and savages, took post half a mile from the ferry.

Count Polaski after reconnoitring them, left a detachment to watch their motions, and repaired to Charleston, to confer with the Council.

During this interval, the enemy had completed their passage of the river, and were advancing in three columns towards the town. Their advanced guards consisted of two hundred horse, four hundred Highlanders and Indians; their rear guard of cavalry. At the distance of five miles, some of the Count's party were ordered to fire, principally with a view of announcing the enemy's approach. The enemy made frequent halts to explore the ground, over which they were to pass. The Count having returned to his corps, ordered his infantry to form an ambuscade, and directed a detachment of volunteer horse, he fell in with, to second his infantry; he advanced and made his dispositions for inducing the enemy to detach their cavalry from the head of their column, a close fire began, both his cavalry and infantry charged, but the latter were exceedingly embarrassed in their movements by the volunteer horse, owing to a misapprehension of orders. Notwithstanding these difficulties, and the superiority of the enemy, the ground was obstinately disputed. At length the orders for retreat became necessary, and the enemy by their prudence in not advancing, escaped the fire of the Continental artillery. The enemy's loss was forty-five soldiers and officers. The Carolinians, thirty.

The Count two days after, attacked a detachment of the enemy, took several prisoners and obliged the remainder to save themselves by flight. About ten at night an alarm was given by one of the centinels, which occasioned a general

fire of cannon and musquetry from the lines, and the armed vessels stationed on the flanks, in which Major Hugar, a valuable officer, and three privates were killed. On the morning of the 12th of May, Major Gardiner of the 60th, was met at some distance from the lines, bearing a flag from General Prevost. Several others passed and repassed, but in the afternoon they were discontinued, and every preparation made for vigorously repelling a general assault expected at night, which, however was not attempted. Early the next morning Count Polaski went out with a small party of horse to reconnoitre. The surprise can scarcely be conceived, upon his sending intelligence, that the enemy had decamped, and recrossed Ashley-ferry. Eleven deserters and about as many prisoners were brought into town in the course of the day the reasons besides those already mentioned, which probably induced Prevost so suddenly to retire, were his want of many necessaries for a siege, if it should be prolonged; his supplies being nearly exhausted. They encamped in different places in the neighbourhood of Ashley-ferry, and on James and John islands. On General Lincoln's coming to Ashley-ferry, they drew in force towards Wappoo, and it was imagined meant to hazard an action, but suddenly decamped and went over to John's-island. On the 4th of this month, (*June*) part of Prevost's army under Lieutenant-Colonel Matland, were intrenched on the main at Stono-ferry, in which situation an attack was made on them the 20th of June, in which (it is said) their corps of Highlanders suffered much, but they having received strong reinforcement from John's island, the assailants desisted from the attack; and Prevost's troops, after having shifted from place to place, made the best of their way back to Savannah, and finished an unsuccessful campaign.

June 5.

Sir George Collier and Governour Tryon, were dispatched by Sir Henry Clinton, to ravage *Connecticut*.* About two o'clock in the morning of this day, the *Camilla* and *Scorpion*, with tenders, row-gallies and transports, to the number of forty-eight, anchored off West-haven, having on board three thousand land forces, part of which landed a little after sunrise at *West-haven* point. The alarm-guns in the town were fired, and every preparation (which the confusion and distress of the inhabitants would permit) was made for resistance. The bridge on Milford road was taken up. Some field pieces placed, and served to such advantage as prevented the enemy approaching the town by that route. They advanced directly through Westfield, crossed the bridge

* See account published at Hartford.

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Derby road, and entered the town between twelve and one o'clock; they were however much galled and harrassed in their way by the opposers, who drove in their guards, attacked the main body, and hung upon them.

While General Garth, with a division of the troops, were plundering *Newhaven*, Commodore Collier brought his fleet into the harbour, and landed Governour Tryon, with the rest of the troops, at *Westhaven*, and then began a heavy cannonade on the fort at Black-rock, which, after some defence, was evacuated. On Tuesday afternoon, the militia collected in such numbers, and crowded so close upon Tryon, that he thought best to retreat on board his fleet, and set sail to the westward, their loss was unknown, but supposed to be considerable, and included some officers; the loss of the militia was twenty-three killed and fifteen wounded, the number killed exceeding that of the wounded. The account published, mentions their outrages, burning stores, beating and insulting the Rev. Mr. Dagget (late President of Yale college) after they had made him a prisoner, abusing Mr. Bears, senior, in his own house, and mortally wounding him, also the aged and helpless Captain Inglish, and committing many other enormities. On Wednesday the seventh, the same party landed at *Fairfield* (a town of about two hundred houses) and notwithstanding some force there collected, they entered and plundered it, and laid the town in ashes that night. The meeting-house, Episcopal church and court-house were consumed, with the other buildings. After plundering and burning this town, the troops returned to their shipping, and sailed to the shore of Long-Island, where they remained till Friday, when they appeared before *Norwalk*, and at five o'clock, P. M. they landed a body of their troops, and burnt the town. The destruction made by the Royalists in this expedition as laid before the public at the time.

At *Fairfield*, two houses of public worship, eighty-two dwelling houses, fifty-five barns, fifteen stores, and fifteen shops.

At *Green-Farms*, one house of public worship, fifteen dwelling houses, eleven barns, several stores, &c.

At *Norwalk*, two houses of public worship, about eighty dwelling houses, eighty-seven barns, twenty-two stores, seventeen shops, four mills, and five vessels.

Previous to these desolations, Governour Tryon issued a proclamation of protection, but before an answer could be sent him, he began his depredations.

Another body of troops from King's-bridge, advanced as far as Horse-neck. They burnt *Bedford* in the State of

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New-York, fifteen miles northwest of Stamford, and then retired back to King's-bridge.

Congress passed the following resolve in favour of an American heroine, viz.

Resolved, "That *Margaret Corbin*, who was wounded and disabled at the attack of Fort Washington, whilst she heroically filled the post of her husband, who was killed by her side, serving a piece of artillery, do receive during her natural life, or the continuance of the said disability, the one half of the monthly pay, drawn by a soldier in the service of these States; and that she now receive, out of the public stores, one complete suit of clothes or the value thereof in money."

Brigadier-General Wayne takes the fortress at *Stoney-Point*, the west side of King's-ferry, on the banks of the Hudson which Sir Henry Clinton, with his army, had lately visited and put into a good posture of defence. After having removed the artillery and stores, General Wayne destroyed the fort, and left it.

In the close of his letter to General Washington relating this affair, he says, "Neither the deep morass, the formidable and double rows of abatis, or the strong work in front or flank could damp the ardour of our troops, who, in the face of a most tremendous and incessant fire of musquetry, and from cannon loaded with grape shot forced their way, *at the point of the bayonet* through every obstacle. Both columns meeting in the centre of the enemy's works nearly at the same instant. Too much praise cannot be given to Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury, who struck the enemy's standard with his own hand; and Major Steward, who commanded the advanced parties, for their brave and prudent conduct. Colonels Butler, Meigs and Febiger conducted themselves with that coolness, bravery and perseverance that will ever ensure success. Lieutenant-Colonel Hay was wounded in the thigh, bravely fighting at the head of his battalion. The humanity of our brave soldiers, who scorned to take the lives of a vanquished foe, calling for mercy, reflects the highest honour on them, and accounts for the few of the enemy killed on the occasion.

By the return it appeared, that the Continentals had fifteen killed and eighty-three wounded. The enemy had sixty-three killed and forty-three wounded. Five hundred and forty-three prisoners taken, including the wounded. Colonel Johnson, commander of the fort, was among the prisoners; a great quantity of the military stores were taken, and the undermentioned pieces of ordnance.

3 twelve pounders	} brads.	1 eight inch brads howitzer,
1 three ditto,		1 ten inch ditto mortar,
3 fourteen	} ditto, iron.	2 five and half inches,
2 eighteen		2 four and two-fifth inches.
1 twelve		

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July 15.

General Washington's letter, which accompanied General Wayne's to Congress, applauds the conduct of all the officers and men; but there were particular ones whose situation placed them foremost in danger, and made their conduct most conspicuous: Besides the officers named in General Wayne's letter, his Excellency mentions, "That Lieutenant Gibbons and Knox, who commanded the advanced parties, or *forlorn hope*, acquitted themselves as well as it is possible." With respect to *General Wayne*, he observes, "That his conduct throughout the whole of this arduous enterprize, merits the warmest approbation of Congress, he improved upon the plan recommended by me, and executed it in a manner that does signal honour to his judgment, and to his bravery. In a critical moment of the assault, he received a flesh wound in the head, with a musket ball, but continued leading on his men with unshaken firmness." "His Excellency informed Congress, that two flags, and two standards were taken, the former belonging to the garrison, and the latter to the seventeenth regiment."

As distinguishing marks of approbation, Congress directed that a *gold* medal, emblematical of the action, be presented to Brigadier-General Wayne, and a *silver* one to Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury and Major Steward, and brevets of Captains given to Lieutenant Gibbons and Knox; and that the value of the military stores taken, should be divided among the gallant troops who reduced Stoney-point, in such a manner as the commander in chief should prescribe.

August.

The fortification at *Paulu's-hook* (on the west side of North River, opposite New-York city) was taken by Major Lee, of the horse. It made a faint resistance, and surrendered. Major Sutherland and about fifteen of his men escaped to a small block-house on the left of the fort; the approach of day, and the vicinity of the main body of the enemy, made it impossible to bring off any stores. The Continentals had possession of all the artillery and magazine, the prisoners were one hundred and thirty-four rank and file and seven officers; about forty were killed. Major Lee's loss said to be very few in killed and wounded, four *only* is the number mentioned.

General MacLane with about nine hundred men, and Commodore Barclay with nine armed vessels from Halifax, made a lodgment at Penobscot, in the eastern parts of the

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Massachusetts State, and took possession of it in June last. An armament sailed from Boston this day to dispossess them, but failed of success, and involved the State in a heavy debt to the private citizens who were owners of the ships engaged in the expedition. The British were reinforced by six ships of war from Halifax under Sir George Collier, which occasioned the Massachusetts' troops to withdraw; and to prevent their ships from falling into the hands of the enemy, the American Commodore ordered them to be destroyed, and their crews to land in the vicinity of Penobscot, and provide for themselves.

A British fleet under command of Admiral *Arbuthnot*,* destined for America, was detained from proceeding there, at the time appointed, by a diversion the French made on the island of Jersey. The Prince of Nassau, with fifteen hundred volunteers from St. Maloes, making a descent on the island the 2d of May last. Lieutenant-Governour Corbet on their approach, dispatched a ship with information, to the Governour of Portsmouth, and having met Admiral Arbuthnot, he ordered the merchant ships under his convoy back to Torbay, and went with his men of war and transports to the relief of the island; so that he did not arrive at New-York, till the 25th of August. The transports brought a reinforcement for the Royal army, of about three thousand troops. One of the convoy was captured by an American private armed vessel and carried into Philadelphia, having on board the following very valuable cargo, viz. eighty iron cannon, two, three, four and six pounders with carriages, &c. sixty swivels, ten cohorns, six cannonade twelve pounders, seven hundred round and bar shot, one hundred and fifty five half barrels of powder, fifty-five coils of cordage, and about five hundred and fifty-five packages, containing, tea, loaf sugar, cheese, soldier's clothing, and a variety of merchandize.

Admiral Arbuthnot, not arriving so soon as was expected, was said to have prevented the execution of a plan, Sir Henry Clinton had in contemplation, of making a descent on some of the New-England States.

Sept. 13.

The continual depreciation of the paper currency of the United States, is truly *the burden of America*. On this subject, Congress addressed the people at large, in their circular letter, dated at Philadelphia, the 13th of September, and laid before their constituents, the following state of their National debt, viz.

* Late Governour of Halifax.

	Dollars.	1779.
Bills emitted and circulating	159948180	
Monies borrowed before March 1, 1778, interest payable in France	7545197	67-90
Monies borrowed since March 1, 1778, interest payable in America	26188909	
Money due abroad, not exactly known, suppose	-	4000000
The taxes brought in no more than	3027560	
Amount of loans as above	33734105	5-90
Which together make	36761666	67-90ths of a dollar, and

was all the money supplied to Congress by the people of America.

The design of Congress in this address was to establish the credit of the paper currency in the minds of the people, and to convince them that the United States were *able* and willing to redeem it, both of which were suspected. They also endeavoured to stimulate the people to exert themselves, to pay their taxes cheerfully and punctually, and *loan* their surplus money as a means to reduce the quantity of bills in circulation, and prevent or lessen future emissions. With respect to the depreciation of the currency, they say, "It is always natural or artificial, or both; the latter is our case. When the sum in circulation exceeds what is necessary for a medium of commerce, it begins and continues to depreciate in proportion as the amount of the surplus increases, &c." The cause of its *artificial* depreciation is a distrust in the people, either of the ability or *inclination* of the United States, to redeem their bills. Their *ability*, Congress argues from the success of the present revolution in their favour, and the sufficiency of the natural wealth, value, and resources of the country.

To this question, "Whether the national wealth, &c. of the country, will be equal to the payment of her debts?" They reply in this manner, "Suppose that the emissions should amount to two hundred million pounds, at the conclusion of the war, that exclusive of supplies from taxes (which will not be inconsiderable) the loan should amount to one hundred million, then the whole national debt of the United States, would be three hundred million.

There are at present three million of inhabitants in the thirteen States; three hundred millions of dollars divided amongst them would give to each person one hundred dollars; and is there an individual in America, unable in the

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course of eighteen or twenty years to pay it? If the whole debt is assessed on the inhabitants in proportion to their respective estates, the share of the poorer people then, would not be perhaps more than ten dollars; the debt will not be payable immediately, but probably twenty years allotted for it; the number of inhabitants by that time, will be far more than double the present amount, as by natural population they doubled every twenty years; besides, a number of emigrants would come to America, who would assist in paying the debt; by which means every person's share would be continually diminishing, by others coming in to pay a proportion of it. Their ability is farther argued from a consideration of the millions of acres, contained *only* in the settled parts of North America, and their value. Congress say, "We formerly paid to Great Britain an annual tax of £3,000,000 sterling, in the way of trade, and yet grew rich; our commerce was then confined to her. We were obliged to carry our commodities to her markets and sell them at her price. We were compelled to purchase foreign commodities of her, and on her terms, and forbid to establish any manufactories incompatible with her view of gain, that in future the whole world will be open to us, to sell and buy of those whom we chuse, and as the country increases in number of inhabitants, the productions of the earth will be proportionably increased, &c." As to the inclination of the United States to pay the debt, they say, "That Congress have pledged the faith of their constituents for the redemption of the bills. Their constituents have actually ratified the acts of Congress by receiving their bills, passing laws for establishing their currency, and punishing those who counterfeited them; so that in fact the people have pledged *their* faith, not only collectively by their representatives, but individually. The suspicion that Congress may be abolished, and each State resuming its delegated powers may proceed in future to hold and exercise all the rights of sovereignty, appertaining to an independent State, and that in such a case, the Continental bills of credit, created and supported by the union, would die with it," &c. To obviate this objection, Congress lay before them the design of the *confederation*, which was solemn and explicit, for the direct purpose of supporting the independence of these States; for this end armies were raised, and bills of credit emitted, and loans made to pay and supply them, the redemption therefore of these bills, the payment of these debts, &c. for the common benefit, and in this common cause, are among the objects of this confederation, and consequently while all or any of the objects remain unattained, it cannot so far as it respects these objects be dissolved.

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ed, consistent with the laws of God or man. "The pride of America (they say) revolts from the idea of violating the public faith, her citizens know for what purpose these emissions were made, have repeatedly plighted their faith for the redemption of them, they are to be found in every man's possession, and every man is interested in their being redeemed, can it therefore be supposed that *all* America will (against the faith, honour and interest of *all* America) be prevailed upon to countenance, support or permit, so ruinous, so disgraceful a measure," &c. Congress having in this manner, laid before the States all the circumstances of their currency, the cause of its depreciation investigated, the remedy recommended, their ability and inclination to redeem the bills of credit fairly argued. The people were urged to comply with the *intention* of this address. Supply money by loans and taxes for public use, and thereby make it unnecessary to emit any more bills, in this way; if it did not make the currency better, it would keep it from growing worse, the obvious consequence of increasing the quantity by new emissions.

Sir Andrew Snap Hammond arrived at New-York in the Sept. 15. Roebuck man of war, with a convoy of transports, having provisions and a few recruits for the Royal army.

Congress made choice of their President, his Excellency John Jay, Esq. of New-York, to be Minister plenipotentiary Sept. 28, from the United States, at the Court of Madrid, and Mr. Carmichael, a delegate from Maryland to be Secretary to the embassy. Mr. Jay is succeeded as President of Congress by Samuel Huntington, Esq. of the State of Connecticut.

The ravages of the Indians on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia made it necessary that some effectual method should be taken to restrain the incursions of the Indians, and secure the frontiers; for this purpose an expedition into the Indian country, was planned by the commander in Sept. 30. chief, to attack them in their settlements, and the execution of the plan was committed to Major-General Sullivan, who was appointed to the chief command of it. He had under him the Brigadiers Clinton, Maxwell, Poor, Hand, and Porter, and a well chosen army. They were joined by a number of Indian warriors of the Oneida, Tuscaroroes, and Stockbridge tribes at Wyoming, from whence they commenced their march about the first of August, to the Indian settlements in that neighbourhood, they penetrated about ninety miles through a horrid swampy wilderness and barren mountainous desert, from whence they passed up Susquehanna-river; in their way thither are three Indian towns, at one of which, Chamong, the Indians had a grand council. The

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army transported their provisions, stores and baggage to Tzaga by water. The troops marched on both sides the river to protect the boats from the savages. An advanced party about sixty, under General Maxwell fell in with a body of Indians, who had been doing mischief at Minnifink, and were returning; he killed and captivated a considerable number of them. The army burnt *Chamong*, one of the chief towns of the Seneca's, killed and took upwards of three hundred prisoners. Another town called *Chemenev*, at the upper part of the Susquehannah, they also burnt, the 13th of August, with the plantations of corn, &c. The enemy evacuated the place the evening before. In the course of the day, General Sullivan had seven men killed and fourteen wounded. He obtained a victory over them at *Newtown*, the 29th of August.

The occurrences which took place afterwards, General Sullivan informed Congress of, in a letter directed to President Jay, dated September 30th, from which, what follows relative thereto, is collected.

An old woman of the Cayaga nation, was found in the woods, who informed them, that after the battle at Newtown, the Indians fled in great confusion, that they had a great many killed and vast numbers wounded. The General was convinced of the truth of it, as the day they left Newtown, they discovered a great number of bloody packs, arms, and accoutrements thrown away in the woods, and a number of recent graves; they left many warriors dead on the field, which is not common with them. The General was not able to ascertain the number opposed to them at Newtown, but from various circumstances, he was led to suppose them to have been fifteen hundred. The time taken in destroying the corn near Newtown, employed his army two days. Kindais, consisting of about twenty houses, they reduced to ashes; they took near a day in destroying the corn and fruit trees, of which there was great abundance, many of the trees appeared to be of great age. At this place they met an inhabitant of Wyoming, who had escaped the carnage in July, 1778. He said he had conversed with some of the Tories on their return from the action at Newtown who corroborated the account of the enemy suffering great loss.

At Kannadeseys (which was abandoned) they found a white child about three years old, doubtless the offspring of some unhappy captive, which the army took with them. The General finding he could not possibly effect the destruction of the Indian country with the provisions he had, he proposed to his troops to content themselves with half a

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pound of flour, and the same quantity of fresh beef per day, in which they readily acquiesced, not one dissenting voice was heard from either officer or soldier; he had then only twenty-two pounds of flour, and sixteen pounds of beef per man; notwithstanding which, they persevered in the business. In their way to *Catherine town*, they had a road to open for the artillery, through a swamp, nine miles in width, and almost impervious. After having destroyed a number of villages, some of which contained fifty houses, they passed on to *Chinnessee*, which the prisoners they had taken informed the General, was the capital of the Indian towns; that the Indians of all nations had been planting there this spring; that all the Rangers, and *some British*, had been employed in assisting them, in order to raise sufficient supplies to support them *whilst destroying the frontiers*. He destroyed a small town of twenty-five houses, in his way, and ordered a small party to reconnoitre *Chinnessee* town, that he might, if possible, surprise it; but they were discovered, by the guides having mistaken the way, they were encircled by the enemy, and having taken to a grove of trees, the commander of the reconnoitering party, Mr. Boyd of the rifles, was shot through the body, and every man of his party killed, excepting one, who, with his wounded commander, were made prisoners; the firing was so close before this brave party were overcome, that the powder of the enemy's musquets, was driven into their flesh. The party that fell in with Boyd, was commanded by *Butler*, who bore a great part in the destruction of Wyoming, the last year.

The army moved on to *Chinnessee*, crossing a deep creek and the little Seneca river, and reached the castle. The town consisted of one hundred and twenty-eight houses, mostly large and elegant; there they found the body of the intrepid Boyd, with his companion, mangled in a manner too painful to describe.

The General represents *Chinnessee*, as being beautifully situated, almost encircled with a clear flat, which extends several miles, with extensive fields of corn, &c. The Indians evacuated it two days before he arrived at it.

The General being informed there was no settlement beyond it, the army began their march for the Cayaga's country, which yet had remained unmolested; and having arrived at it, they destroyed it. In the various towns destroyed, were many *fruit trees*, in one orchard were *fifteen hundred*.

The number of towns destroyed, were forty, besides scattering houses; the quantity of corn, must amount to an hundred and sixty thousand bushels, with a large quantity of vegetables of every kind; every creek and river was

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traced, and the whole country explored, and except one town near the Alleghany, about fifty miles from Chinnesssee, there was not a single town left in the country of the five nations.

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The army did not suffer the loss of forty men, though perhaps few troops experienced a more fatiguing campaign; besides, the difficulty which naturally attends marching thro' an enemy's country, abounding in woods, rivers, creeks, morasses and defiles; they found no small inconvenience from the want of proper guides, and the maps of the country were so exceedingly erroneous that they served not to enlighten but perplex them. Though they had much labour in finding out roads for the artillery, the army moved from twelve to sixteen miles every day, when not detained by rain, or employed in destroying settlements.

After the first action the enemy ventured not a second, but kept themselves out of the reach of the army, not firing a single gun as it was on its march, or in its quarters, though in a country exceedingly well calculated for ambuscade.

It is remarked on this expedition (by the translator of M. Chastelleux's travels, an Englishman then resident in the United States) "That the instructions given by General Sullivan to his officers, the order of march, he prescribed to the troops, and the discipline he had the ability to maintain, would have done honour to the most experienced ancient or modern Generals."

To disturb a people in the peaceable enjoyment of their property, while they molest no others, is cruel and unjust; but when they quit their own habitations, and make inroads upon the innocent and defenceless, the laws of God and man will justify a resistance from the country at large; and if no other method can be found effectual to restrain their depredations and murders, the war may be carried into their own country, their substance destroyed, and they deprived of the means of committing such ravages in future.

Upon this principle was the Indian expedition undertaken. The savages in the British interest had committed many barbarities, and were preparing for more, and resolved on destroying the frontiers of the southern States, occupied by whig inhabitants. To prevent their design was the object of this enterprise, and heaven succeeded it.

Oct. 10.

Count D'Estaing having gained laurels in the West-Indies by the conquest of Dominica, St. Vincents, and Grenada, and a successful engagement with the English fleet under the Admirals Byron and Barrington, off the latter place; left the further conduct of affairs in that quarter, to M. B.

guet de la Mothe, and the Spanish armament there, to pay another visit to the American continent.

He arrived with his fleet off Savannah in Georgia, consisting of twenty sail of the line, ten frigates, with five thousand land forces, the 5th of September. General Prevost had retired to Georgia, after his unsuccessful expedition, against Charleston (S. C.) here he had strongly fortified with lines, &c. and was joined by Colonel Maitland, with some troops from Beaufort. Count D'Estaing landed his troops, and the Continental General Lincoln, joined him.

The following account of their operations is contained in a letter written by General Lincoln, and by him transmitted to Congress, dated Charleston, October 22, from which it is copied.

"On the 15th ultimo, being advised that the Count had disembarked part of his troops, and would that night take post nine miles from Savannah, we moved and encamped at Cherokee hill, nine miles from the town. The 16th, we formed a junction before Savannah.

"After reconnoitering the enemy's works, finding the town well covered, and knowing their determination to defend it, it was deemed necessary to make some approaches, and try the effects of artillery. From the 18th to the 22d, we were employed in getting up the heavy ordnance and stores, a work of difficulty from the want of proper wheels to transport them, the cannon being on ship carriages. On the evening of the 23d, ground was broke, and on the 24th instant (October) the batteries of thirty-three cannon and nine mortars, were opened on the enemy, and continued with intervals until the 8th, without the wished effect. The period being long elapsed which the Count had assigned for this expedition, and the engineers informing him that much time must be spent, if he expected to reduce the garrison by regular approaches, and his longer stay being impossible, matters were reduced to the alternative of raising the siege immediately, and giving up all thoughts of conquest, or attempting the garrison by assault; the latter was agreed on, and on the morning of the 9th, the attack was made; it proved unsuccessful, we were repulsed with loss.

"When the Count first arrived, he informed us that he could remain on shore eight days only; he had spent four times that number; his departure therefore became indispensable, and to re-embark his ordnance stores, claimed his next attention, this was completed on the 18th.

"The same evening, having previously sent off our sick and wounded, and heavy baggage, the American troops left the

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ground, reached Zubley's ferry the next morning, recrossed, and encamped that night in Carolina.

"The French troops encamped on the night of the 18th, about two miles from Savannah; they were, after the 24th, to re-embark at Kinroid's landing.

"Our disappointment is great, and what adds much to our sense of it, is the loss of a number of brave officers and men, among them the loss of the late intrepid *Count Polaski*.*

"Count D'Estaing has undoubtedly the interest of America much at heart, this he has evidenced by coming to our assistance, and his constant attention during the siege; his undertaking to reduce the enemy by assault, when he despaired of effecting it otherwise; and by bravely putting himself at the head of his troops, and leading them to the attack. In our service he has freely bled; † I feel much for him, for while he is suffering the distresses of painful wounds, he has to combat chagrin. I hope he will be consoled by an assurance, that although he has not succeeded according to his wishes, and those of America, we regard with high approbation his intention to serve us, and that his want of success will not lessen our ideas of his merit."

The killed and wounded on the side of the Americans are about one hundred and seventy.

The Experiment, a British man of war, Sir James Wallace commander, was captured by Count D'Estaing's fleet; some other ships of force and transports, fell into his hands. General Garth was taken in one of them. A large quantity of guineas was said to have been found on board the Experiment, to pay the Royal troops in Georgia.

Upon Count D'Estaing's arriving at Georgia, it gave alarm to the Royalists at New-York, fearing an attack on that city, was his principal view in making a second visit to the United States. All the out-posts were called in, and Newport ordered to be evacuated.

This took place the 25th of October (the anniversary of their King's coronation) having previously blown up the light-house, at the entrance of that harbour. Their evacuation was precipitate, being under apprehension that General Gates would visit the island before they could leave it. The next day after they went off, General Gates went on, with a part of his force from Providence, and took possession of the island.

* A Polish nobleman; he was mortally wounded advancing to force his way into the citadel, at the head of his cavalry. He survived only two days.

† Count D'Estaing was wounded in his leg and arm.

The British were relieved from their anxiety, on receiving the foregoing account of the transactions at Georgia, and that Count D'Estaing had left the continent.

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General Washington expecting assistance from Count D'Estaing, when he left Georgia, made preparations to invest New-York; but the Count being so long detained there, he was under a necessity of returning to the West-Indies, without proceeding further to the northward.

Nov.

This occasioned the General to quit his design against New-York, and the winter coming on, the main body of his army took up their quarters at Baskinridge; their head quarters was at Morris-town.

December.

The measures taken by Sir Henry Clinton, for the defence of New-York, only in case the combined force of Washington and D'Estaing had attacked it; he communicated in a letter to Lord George Germaine. "From the time (he writes) I was honoured with your Lordship's instructions, to evacuate Rhode-Island, and to condense and dispose the King's troops on such a scale, as would afford the most substantial protection to New-York, and such of its dependencies as might be held consistently with the force to be withdrawn for the purpose of southern operations, till the moment of embarkation [for Georgia] no opportunity whatsoever has offered itself, to strike any part of the enemy, or even to venture on any incursion that promised advantage, superiour to the risque. Besides, as I communicated in my last the violent demonstrations of the rebels, which threatened a determined attack of the post at New-York, in conjunction with a large armament, naval and land, under Count D'Estaing; then directing itself against the garrison of Savannah, necessarily turned our whole endeavours to defeat so alarming a combination. The regular troops under General Washington, amounted, at this period, to sixteen thousand; to which is to be added the army commanded by General Sullivan, then on the return from a successful expedition against our Indian allies, and but very little diminished by the campaign; this gave him a force of twenty thousand effectives. But your Lordship will be able to form a more perfect judgment of our measures, when you combine with the army, the militia of Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, New-York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, which were ready to be drawn together on the shortest notice; and who were peculiarly exalted at this crisis, from a prospect of a city full of wealth, and devoted to plunder; and by the flattering idea of ending the war with its capture. Not a moment was to be lost at such a critical conjuncture, for every moment was important, and expected to come with the

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account of D'Estaing's appearance before our harbour. The works at Brookline and Governour's Island, were enlarged and improved, new works were erected at the watering place, and Sandy-hook; the King's battery at New-York was repaired, and mounted with heavy ordnance, and places marked out, and defences provided to cover the shipping along the sound. These preparations employed the whole labour of the army, and I cannot but observe in addition to what I have said, in my official letter, *the general readiness of most of the refugees* to facilitate these important objects. Washington in his fastnesses in the highlands, and so posted as to be able to use the Hudson to the greatest advantage in making impression upon our left, while every advantage of water was also in his power by the sound, and under protection of the French fleet; we were exposed to the most perplexing embarrassments, affailable in so many points, and every instant expecting D'Estaing, we had but time to look toward, and take measures for our own defence, and the occasion required us to put forward our best exertions."

Dec. 26.

The apprehensions of an attack on New-York city, having subsided, Sir Henry Clinton planned another expedition to South Carolina, in order to reduce the southern States. He embarked a large body of troops on board an hundred sail of transports, convoyed by a squadron of men of war, under Admiral Arbuthnot. Sir Henry in person, took command of this expedition, he, together with Lord Cornwallis, embarked with the fleet. A storm happened a few days after their departure from New-York, which dispersed and damaged some of their ships; but having received recruits after his arrival, he prosecuted his design against *Charleston*.

It being expected by the British, that *St. Augustine* would be invaded by the Spaniards, General Prevost returned there, and Brigadier-General Leslie succeeded him in the command at Georgia. The Spanish Governour of Louisiana, gained many advantages over the British settlements on the Mississippi, took a number of prisoners, and got possession of a tract of the most fertile land.

1780.

January.

An expedition to *Staten-Island* (within nine miles of New-York city) was undertaken by General Lord Stirling, by order of the commander in chief. The weather this month favoured an attempt on the ice, but it failed of success, the Royalists having by some means got intelligence of the design. Lord Stirling reported, "That he embarked with a detachment of twenty-five hundred men; he found their works well situated, and strong, and the communication between the island and New-York, open contrary to their expectations, so that boats passed from one to the other, by

which means they could be furnished with provisions and fuel. It was judged therefore that an assault there, was not advisable, and as a reinforcement could be sent them from the city, which would render it dangerous for them to tarry, they retreated in good order, and with very little loss."

Sir Joseph Yorke, the English Ambassador, in Holland, *March 21.* presented to the States General, a memorial on the subject of succours, he had claimed eight months before, and which (for reasons already mentioned) they had withheld.

The following affair increased the disputes between England and the Republic of Holland :

A small squadron of ships having been fitted out at *France* (one of which was the *Alliance*, an American frigate) under command of Captain John Paul Jones; they infested the English coast, and gave alarm to some of the out-posts, and meeting with the *Serapis*, an English frigate of forty guns, and the ship *Countess*, of Scarborough, he captured both, after a bloody engagement, in which he lost his own ship, the *Bon Homme Richard*, which sunk soon after the action was over, he having first quitted her, and got on board another of his squadron. Captain Jones carried his prizes into *Holland*. The English Ambassador requested that the prizes might be stopped, and they and their crews delivered up. To this request, their High Mightinesses replied, "That for a century past, they had adhered to a maxim, and had notified it by placards. "That they pretend not to judge of the legality or illegality of the actions of those, who have, on the open seas, taken any vessels which do not belong to this country, and bringing them into any of the ports of this Republic. That they only open their ports to them, to give them shelter from storms or disasters, and that they oblige them to put to sea again with their prizes, without unloading, or disposing of their cargoes, but letting them remain exactly as when they arrived. That they came to this resolution: That the five ships, viz. two French frigates, one American, with two prizes, who entered the *Texel* with Paul Jones; do put to sea again, as soon as possible, and that they be not furnished with any warlike or naval stores, but what are absolutely necessary to carry them safe to the first foreign port they can come at." This conduct of the Dutch was conformable to the resolutions they had taken, to preserve a neutrality in the contest between Great Britain and America and her allies.

England taking umbrage at the proceedings of Holland, *April 17.* in the above instance, and some others before mentioned; the alliance between them was dissolved by his Britannic Majesty, in a formal declaration, in his council at St. James's,

1780. this day; by which Holland is to be considered as on the same footing as other neutral States, not privileged by treaty.

Marquis de la Fayette returned to America from France, in the *Hermione* frigate, Capt. Le Touche, and landed at Boston; from whence he proceeded to join the American army.

The last month, Congress recommended to the States to bring into the Continental Treasury by taxes, their quotas of fifteen million dollars, monthly, as assigned them by the resolution of the 7th of October, 1779, and to continue it to April, 1781.

Gold and silver to be received at the rate of *one* Spanish milled dollar, in lieu of *forty* paper dollars, the money brought in (except for the months of January and February, 1779, which were to pass till April, 1781) to be destroyed. When the bills were brought in, and funds established, other bills to be emitted, not to exceed *one twentieth* part of the sum brought in; the *new* bills issued, to be redeemable in six years, viz. 1786, to be paid in specie, and bear an interest of five per cent. to be paid annually in specie, or in bills of exchange on their commissioners in France, at four shillings and sixpence sterling per dollar. The *new* bills to be issued on the funds of *individual* States.

The above mode was proposed for the purpose of *sinking* the *old* Continental money, and in lieu thereof, to substitute a new emission of *State* bills; which was adopted, and bills were emitted by the *respective* States, which, at the end of six years, was to be redeemed by them; *one* dollar *new* emission, to be equal to *forty* of the *old* Continental dollars.

May 12.

Charleston, in South-Carolina, surrendered this day to Sir Henry Clinton, and Admiral Arbuthnot. This news was brought to Congress by Colonel Tennent, bearing a letter from *Major-General* Lincoln, informing, "That after every effort and exertion, made by a handful of brave troops, contending with numberless hardships and difficulties (to all which they most cheerfully submitted) we were reduced to the sad necessity of treating with Sir Henry Clinton, and according to terms of capitulation;" which terms accompanied the General's letter.

General Lincoln in his reply to the British commander's summons, of the 9th instant, to surrender Charleston, remarked, "That the offers of capitulation, then made, were inadmissible, and proposed others, which they refused." On the eleventh of the month, General Lincoln wrote them, "That their exceptions to the articles he had proposed as they principally concerned the militia and citizens, he conceived were such as could not be concurred with, but a re-

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cent application from those people wherein they express a willingness to comply with them, and a wish, on his part, to lessen, as much as may be, the distresses of war to individuals, lead him to offer his acceptance." The town was accordingly delivered up, and Brigadier-General Leslie marched into it and took possession.

The following particulars relate to the siege.

The admiral got over the bar the 20th of March, by means of lightening some of his fleet of their guns, water and provisions, with the following ships, viz. Roebuck of 44 guns. Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, with the Admiral on board.

<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
Renown 50.	Richmond 32.	Blonde 32.
Romulus 40.	Virginia 28.	Perseus 20.
Raleigh 32.	Camilla 20.	Loyalist 18.
Active 10.	Keppel 16.	Germaine 14.

The landing of the troops at Charleston neck was effected nine days after the men of war passed the bar, and being strengthened by a corps from Georgia, under Brigadier-General Patterson, who arrived at Ashley river, over which the army passed to the town side, the passage being unoccupied. The day succeeding it, the army moved towards Charleston, and on the night of the first of April broke ground within eight hundred yards of the Carolina works. The ships passed Sullivan's island the 8th (through a severe fire in which they suffered much) and the Admiral with his ships, got into Charleston harbour. The town, the next day, was summoned to surrender. General Lincoln returned this spirited answer; "I have received your summons of this date—sixty days have passed since it has been known that your intentions against this town were hostile, in which, time has been afforded to abandon it, but duty and inclination points out the propriety of supporting it to the last extremity." Clinton having detached Lieutenant-Colonel Webster with one thousand and four hundred men to break in upon the communication with the country, he received an account of the success of Colonels Tarlton and Ferguson (part of Webster's division) which gave command of the country to Colonel Webster, and threw into his hands great supplies of provisions. All access to the town by Cooper's-river was prevented, the enemy having defeated the Carolina cavalry that possessed Biggin's-bridge over Cooper's river. Fort Montrie, on Sullivan's-Island, was reduced in the following manner, as related by the Admiral, "The intention of the besieged he found had been chiefly directed to the south and east parts of the fort, which were most open to attack, but the west side and north-west bastion he discovered had been neglected; he therefore de-

1780.

terminated to attempt to carry the fort by storm, under cover of the fire from the ships of the Squadron. The Captains Hudson and Gambier, and Captain Knowles, agent for transports, with two hundred seamen and marines embarked in boats of the Squadron the 4th in the night, and passing by the fort unobserved, landed before daylight and took possession of a redoubt on the east end of the island, whilst boats were preparing to carry over the same number of seamen from Mount Pleasant (in the neighbourhood of Sullivan's, which they had previously taken possession of) under the command of Capt. Ord. On the whole, being ready, and the ships only waiting for the tide to begin the attack, the fort was summoned by Captain Hudson, when after a little consideration the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war." In this enterprize, by the Admiral's account, he had twenty three seamen killed and twenty eight wounded. Prisoners taken in the fort were, continentals one hundred and eighteen, militia one hundred. From the time the enemy broke ground to the time Charleston surrendered was forty two days. The town being closely invested by sea and land, their provision almost exhausted, and the communication with the country cut off, they could hold out no longer, having sustained the siege with great fortitude amidst numberless difficulties. Return of the killed and wounded during the siege, continental troops eighty nine, including one Colonel killed and one hundred and forty wounded.

Continental troops, prisoners of war (including sick and wounded) two thousand, five hundred and sixty four; besides these a number of seamen fell into their hands, and the following continental vessels, viz. two of France, 28 guns, Providence 32, Boston 32, Ranger 20, and two armed French vessels.

Sir H. Clinton's return of the killed and wounded of his troops, British, German and Provincial is seventy five killed, and one hundred and eighty nine wounded. Total two hundred and sixty four, which exceeds the number killed and wounded of the besieged.

A few days after the surrender, the enemy's grand arsenal in the town (wherein were the arms taken) took fire and blew up, by which means many lives were lost.

Lord Cornwallis had command of the corps beyond Cooper's river, and dispatched Colonel Tarleton into the back country, whose success over a body of Carolina horse (a party under Colonel Banford at Lynch's creek) was announced by Sir Henry Clinton to the army under his command, in Charleston, in terms of high satisfaction. Though it was attended with very distressing circumstances; and *one hun-*

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dred and seventy cut to pieces by his own account, as appears by his orders published at Carolina in form of a handbill, and circulated among his troops, as follows :

1780.

"Head Quarters, Charleston neck, June 1, 1780.

"The Commander in Chief congratulates the army on the success that has attended the corps in the back country, under Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis.

"Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, with the corps of cavalry, and with the infantry of the legion (mounted) being detached by his Lordship, reached the rebels, after a march of near one hundred miles in two days. They rejected the terms on which he required them to surrender, and were in consequence attacked.

"One hundred and seventy were cut to pieces, and the whole cannon, baggage, colours, &c. of the corps were taken.

"The General, however small the loss of British, has been compared to the advantage obtained, cannot mention it without concern, two officers are killed, and twenty officers, non-commissioned officers, or privates, wounded."

Sir Henry Clinton leaves Carolina and the conduct of the war there to Earl Cornwallis, and embarked for his head quarters at New York, where he arrived this month.

June.

The German General, *Kniphausen*, had command of the troops in New York during the absence of Sir Henry, and he employed a part of them in ravaging the contiguous State of New Jersey.

A detached party of them crossed from Staten island to *Elizabethtown* point and proceeded to the town; they advanced to *Conneticut farms* (so called) burnt the Presbyterian church and thirteen other houses, and murdered the lady of the *Rev. Mr. Caldwell*, who had made himself obnoxious to the Royalists, for the part he had taken in the contest between Great Britain and America. He being from home, his wife fell a sacrifice to their resentment. This act of cruelty is thus related by a gentleman at *Morristown*. "Soon after their possessing themselves of the neighbourhood, a soldier came to the house, and putting his gun to the window of the room where the worthy woman was sitting (with her children and a maid with an infant in her arms along side of her) he shot her through the lungs dead on the spot. Soon after, an officer, with two Hessians came and ordered a hole to be dug, and her body to be thrown in, and the house to be set on fire." At the earnest request of an officer of the new levies it is said, the corpse was removed before the house was fired. It is observed by the reporter of this barbarity, "That the only comfort arising to this afflicted family is that the wretch who acted as the executioner of this murder-

1780.

ed lady (who from her excellent character deserved a better fate) did his business so effectually that she lost her life without distress or pain. A worthy man, who for four years past devoted himself to the service of his country is thus left with *nine* small children, destitute of even a shift of clothes to comfort them."

[In the month of September following, Mr. Caldwell published the proofs of this cruel affair attested before Magistrates on oath by sundry persons. Two of the witnesses who deposed were in the room with Mrs. Caldwell and saw her fall back and expire immediately after the report of the gun; one of them, Catherine Benwood lived in the family. Mr. Caldwell says, as the murder was a violation of every tender feeling, so it was in open day unprovoked, deliberate and not so much as frowned upon by those in command [*see New Jersey Journal.*] It was the fate also of Mr. Caldwell to be murdered two years after, viz. January, 1782, by some Russians.]

June 25.

A letter from General Washington, dated at Whippany, this day, gives information, "That the 23^d the enemy moved in force from Elizabethtown towards Springfield. They were opposed with great conduct and spirit by Generals Greene and Dickinson with the Continental troops and such of the militia as were assembled; but with their superiority of numbers, they gained Springfield. Having burnt the village, they returned the same day to their former position. In the night they abandoned it, and crossed over to Staten Island and took up their bridge."

July.

About the middle of this month a considerable armament, naval and military, arrived at Newport from Brest.

The fleet commanded by Admiral de Ternay, consisting of eleven ships of war, viz. two of eighty guns, one of seventy-four, five of sixty-four, one of forty, one hospital ship pierced for sixty-four guns, one bomb vessel, with a number of transports, having on board six thousand troops, under command of General Count Rochambeau, dispatched by the Court of France, to act in concert with the forces of the United States.

In England they were apprized of this armament being bound for America, and Admiral T. Greaves was dispatched with some ships of the line, to intercept them, but not meeting them, he joined Admiral Arbuthnot at New York. They appeared off Newport harbour some days after the French fleet arrived in order to block them in, and intercept a second division, which, it was rumoured, was on their passage to the same port. After waiting about twenty days without success the British fleet returned to New York.

1780.

The term of three years, for which many of the Continental troops had enlisted, having nearly expired, the respective States of the Union were called on to furnish each their quota of new enlistments.

Some *ladies* of Philadelphia set an example to others of their sex, of love to their country and compassion to their suffering brethren in the field, by engaging in the benevolent work of raising contributions among themselves and stimulating others to do it, for the purpose of affording a temporary relief, for the troops on service in that vicinity who were destitute of many necessaries. They were successful in their labours of love, and bestowed on the soldiers their free-will offerings. These are such expressions of kindness and delicate sensations as ought to be recorded to the honour of the American ladies. It is a pleasing prospect, "When the men are valiant, and the women kind."

In addition to the resolutions of Congress, in May 18th, *August 24.* 1778, relative to the army, they resolved this day, "That the resolution of the 15th day of May, 1778, granting *half pay for seven years*, to the officers of the army, who should continue in service to the end of the war, be extended to the widows of those officers who have died or may hereafter die in the service; to commence from the time of such officers' death; and continue for the term of seven years. Or if there be no widow, or in case of her death or intermarriage the said half pay, be given to the orphan children of the officer, dying as aforesaid, if he shall have left any. And that it be recommended to the legislatures of the respective States, to which such officers belong to make provision for paying the same on account of the United States."

General Gates, having now command of the Continentals in South Carolina, he began his operations there, very unsuccessfully; of which he informed the President of Congress, in a letter, dated Hillsborough, August 20.

"In the deepest distress and anxiety of mind, I am obliged to acquaint your Excellency with the defeat of the troops under my command. I arrived with the Maryland line, the artillery, and the North Carolina militia, on the 13th inst. at Rugely, thirteen miles from Camden; took post there, and was next day joined by General Stevens, with seven hundred militia from Virginia; Colonel Sumpter, who was at the Waxaws with four hundred South Carolina militia, had, the Sunday before, killed and taken near three hundred of the enemy, who were posted at the Hanging Rock. This, and other strokes upon the enemy's advanced posts, occasioned their calling in all their out-posts to Camden. The 15th, at day-light, I reinforced Col. Sumpter with three hundred

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North Carolina militia, one hundred of the Maryland line, and two three-pounders from the artillery, having previously ordered him down from the Waxaws, and directed, as soon as the reinforcements joined him, that he should proceed down the Wateree, opposite to Camden, intercept any stores coming to the enemy, and particularly the troops from Ninety-Six, who were likewise withdrawn from that post. This was well executed by Col. Sumpter.

" Having communicated my plan to the general officers, in the afternoon of the 15th instant, it was resolved to march at ten at night, to take post in a very advantageous situation, with a deep creek in front, seven miles from Camden; the heavy baggage, &c. being ordered to march immediately by the Waxaw road. At ten the army began to march in the following order: Colonel Armand's legion in front, supported on both flanks by Colonel Potterfield's regiment, and the light-infantry of the militia, the advanced guard of infantry, the Maryland line with their artillery in front of the brigades, the North Carolina militia, the Virginia militia, the artillery, &c. and the rear guard. Having marched above five miles, the legion was charged by the enemy's cavalry, and well supported on the flanks as they were ordered, by Colonel Potterfield, who beat back the enemy's horse, and was himself unfortunately wounded; but the enemy's infantry advancing, with a very heavy fire, the troops in front gave way to the first Maryland brigade, and a confusion ensued, which took some time to regulate. At length, the army was ranged in line of battle, in the following order, General Gift's brigade upon the right, with his right close to a swamp, the North Carolina militia in the center, and the Virginia militia, with the light infantry and Potterfield's corps, upon the left; the artillery divided to the brigades, and the first Maryland brigade as a corps de reserve, and to cover the cannon in the road, at a proper distance in the rear. Colonel Armand's corps were ordered to the left, to support the left flank and oppose the enemy's cavalry. At day light the enemy attacked and drove in our light party in front, when I ordered the left to advance and attack the enemy; but to my astonishment, the left wing and North Carolina militia gave way. General Gaswell and myself, assisted by a number of officers, did all in our power to rally the broken troops, but to no purpose; for the enemy coming round the left flank of the Maryland division, completed the rout of the whole militia, who left the Continentals to oppose the enemy's whole force. I endeavoured, with General Gaswell, to rally the militia at some distance, on an advantageous piece of ground, but the enemy's cavalry continued

to harrafs their rear, they ran like a torrent, and bore all before them. Hoping yet, that a few miles in the rear, they might recover from their panic, and again be brought into order; I continued my endeavour, but this likewise proved in vain.

The militia having taken to the woods, in all directions, I concluded with General Gaswell to retire towards Charlotte. I got here late last night, but reflecting that there was no prospect of collecting a force at that place, adequate to the defence of the country, I proceeded with all possible dispatch hither, to endeavour to fall upon some plan of defence, in conjunction with the Legislative body of the State. I shall immediately dispatch a flag to Lord Cornwallis, to know the situation of our wounded, and the number and condition of the prisoners in his hands.

The 30th of the month he writes General Washington, as follows :

" Since my public letter to Congress, I have been able to collect authentic returns of the killed, wounded and missing of the officers of the Maryland line, Delaware regiment, artilleryists, and those of the legion under Colonel Armand. They are enclosed.

" The militia broke so early in the day and scattered in so many directions upon their retreat that very few have fallen into the hands of the enemy. By the firmness and bravery of the Continental troops, the victory is far from bloodless on the part of the foe, they having upwards of five hundred men, with officers in proportion, killed and wounded. Lord Cornwallis remained with his army at Camden when I received the last accounts from thence. Two days after the action of the 16th, fortune seemed determined to continue to distress us; for Colonel Sumpter, having marched near forty miles up the river Wateree, halted with the waggons and prisoners, he had taken on the 15th. By some indiscretion, the men were surpris'd, cut off from their arms, the whole routed, and the waggons and prisoners retaken. Colonel Sumpter, since his surpris'e and defeat up the west side of the Wateree, has reinstated and increased his corps to upwards of one thousand men. I have directed him to continue to harrafs the enemy upon that side; Lord Cornwallis will therefore be cautious how he makes any considerable movement to the eastward, while this corps remain in force upon his left flank, and the main army is in a manner cantoned in his front. Anxious for the public good, I shall continue my unwearied endeavours to stop the progress of the enemy, to reinstate our affairs, to re-commence an offensive war, and recover our losses in the southern States."

1780.

1780.

Return of the Continental officers killed, wounded, captivated and missing, makes the whole number to be forty-eight. Among the killed, is Baron de Kalb, a Major-General; while leading on the Maryland and Delaware troops, he was pierced with many wounds and soon after expired. He was a brave officer, a Knight of the order of military merit, and a Brigadier of the armies of France.

Seven hundred non commissioned officers and soldiers of the Maryland division rejoined the army. General Gates's command in these actions were said to consist of three thousand, of which number were *only* nine hundred Continental regulars. The Royalists under Lord Cornwallis were upwards of thirty-two hundred and a great part of them regular troops.

By the following paragraph in Lord Cornwallis's letter to Lord George Germaine, giving an account of his victory, we find him elated with success, that he determined to push on, and attempt the reduction of North Carolina.

"On the 17th of August, I dispatched proper people to North Carolina, with directions to our friends there, to take arms, and assemble immediately, and to seize the most violent people, and all military stores and magazines, belonging to the rebels, and to intercept all stragglers from the routed army; and I have promised to march without loss of time to their support. Some necessary supplies for the army are now on their way from Charleston, and I hope that their arrival will enable me to move in a few days."

Sept. 26.

West Point (on the Highlands on the west side of Hudson's River, the passage of communication between New York and Canada) called "The Key of New York River," about sixty miles from New York city, an important post occupied by the Continentals, had been an object, the reduction of which, by force, had been attempted by the Royalists, and miscarried. It was attempted again, but in a different way, by the arts of bribery and corruption. This also failed, and opened a scene of the blackest villainy.

His Excellency General Washington being on a journey to Connecticut on continental business of importance, Major-General Greene, who had command of the army in his absence, informed them in his orders of the 26th of September, that "Treason of the blackest die was yesterday discovered. General Arnold who commanded at West Point, lost to every sentiment of honour, of private and public obligation, was about to deliver up that important post into the hands of the enemy. Such an event must have given the American cause a dangerous if not a fatal wound; happily the treason has been timely discovered, to prevent the fatal mis-

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fortune. The providential train of circumstances which led to it, affords the most convincing proofs that the liberties of America are the object of divine protection. At the same time that the treason is to be regretted, the General cannot help congratulating the army on the happy discovery. Our enemies despairing of carrying their point by force, are practising every base art to effect it by bribery and corruption that they cannot accomplish in a manly way. Great honour is due to the American army that this is the first instance of treason of the kind, where many were to be expected from the nature of the dispute, and nothing is so bright an ornament in the character of the American soldiers, as their having been proof against all the arts and seductions of an invidious enemy. *Arnold* has made his escape to the enemy, but Major *Andre*, the Adjutant-General in the British army, who came out as a spy to negotiate the business, is our prisoner."

1780.

A very minute detail of this black transaction, was published as contained in a letter from a gentleman,* dated "Tappan, October 2d, 1780," and is as follows, viz. "He [*Arnold*] began his negotiations with the enemy to deliver up West Point to them, long before he was invested with the command, and whilst he was still in Philadelphia; after which he solicited the command of that post [upon General M'Dougal, who commanded there, being chosen a member of Congress] for the ostensible reason that the wound in his leg incapacitated him for an active command in the field. It was granted him on the 6th of August last; since which he has been as assiduous as possible in ripening his plans, but the various positions the army assumed, prevented their being put in execution.

October.

"On the night of the 21st ult. he had an interview with Major *Andre*, the Adjutant-General of the British army. This gentleman came on shore from the Vulture man of war, which lay not far from Paller's Point, to a place on the banks of the river near to the Haverstraw Mountains, where he met *Arnold*, who conducted him to the house of Joshua Smith (the white house) within our lines, and only two miles from Stoney Point. They arrived in the house just before day, and stayed there until the next morning, when Major *Andre* became extremely solicitous to return by the way he came, but that was impossible, for the two men who *Arnold* and Smith had seduced to bring him on shore, refused to carry him back; it then was absolutely necessary he

* Said to have been written by a General, who holds an important post, at present, under the Federal Government.

1780.

should return to New York by land. He changed his dress and name, and thus disguised, passed our posts at Stoney and Verplank Points, on the 22d ult. in company with the said Joshua Smith brother to William Smith, Esq. chief Justice within the British lines; he lodged that night at Clan Pond with Smith, and in the morning left Smith, and took the road to Tarrytown, where he was taken by some militia lads about fifteen miles from King's bridge. He offered them any sum of money, and goods, if they would permit him to escape; but they readily declined, and most inflexibly adhered to it; that ten thousand guineas, or any other sum would be no temptation to them.* It was owing to this virtue, as glorious to America, as Arnold's apostacy is disgraceful, that his abominable crimes were discovered. The lads in searching him, [Andre] found concealed under his stockings in his boots, papers of the highest importance, viz. a pass from General Arnold to John Anderson (the name Major Andre had assumed)—artillery orders of September 5th—estimate of the forces at West Point in September—estimate of men to man the works—return of ordnance in September—remarks on the works at West Point, &c.

"Besides which, it appears that Arnold had carried with him to the interview, a general plan of West Point and its vicinity, and all the works; and also particular plans of each work on a large scale—all elegantly drawn by the engineer at that post. But these were not delivered to Major Andre, and from their requiring much time to copy, it is supposed they were not to be delivered until some future period.

"From some circumstances, it appears that it was not Arnold's intention to have deserted, but that he meant to be taken at his post, which, from his distribution of the troops it was very easy to have seized.

"His Excellency the General, on his return to camp, determined to visit West Point, and in pursuance of that plan was viewing some redoubts which lay in his way to Arnold's quarters. He had sent out servants there, and Major Shaw, and

* John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Vert, were the lads who intercepted Major Andre, and so nobly refused his bribes. Congress having a high sense of their virtuous conduct, ordered that each of them receive, annually, out of the public Treasury, two hundred dollars, in specie, or an equivalent in the Continental money, during life. And that a silver medal, on one side of which shall be a shield with this inscription, "FIDELITY," and on the other, the following motto, "Vincit Amor Patriæ," to be presented to them by the Commander in chief.

Dr. M'Henry had arrived, and were at breakfast with the traitor, when he received intelligence by letter that *Andre* was taken; his confusion was visible, but no person could devise the cause. He hurried to his barge with the utmost precipitation, after having left word that "He was going over to West Point, and should be back immediately"—this was about ten in the morning of the 25th ult.

1780:

"The General proceeded to view the works, wondering where Arnold could be; but about four o'clock in the afternoon he was undeceived by an express with the papers, taken on *Andre*. The apostate at this time was on board the *Vulture*, which lay about five or six miles below Stoney and Virplank's Points. Major *Andre* was brought to the General at West Point, and from thence has been brought to this camp. A board of general officers have examined into his case, and upon his own most candid confession, were of opinion, that he was a spy, and according to the custom and usages of nations, he ought to suffer death; and about two hours ago he was executed. This gentleman was in the highest degree of reputation in the British army, of the most polite and accomplished manners, extremely beloved by Sir Henry Clinton. His deportment while a prisoner was candid and dignified. He requested no favour, but to die the death of a soldier, and not on a gibbet. Rigorous policy forbid granting a favour, which at first flash seems immaterial. Our army sympathize in the misfortunes of *this Chesterfield of the day*. But had he possessed a portion of all the Kings on earth, justice and policy would have dictated his death. The enemy, from hints that some of the officers dropped, appeared to be inclined to deliver Arnold into our hands for Major *Andre*, but they have since declared it was impossible. If it could have been effected, our desire to get Arnold would have rendered the exchange easy on our part. The British army were in the utmost affliction on the account of Major *Andre*, and have sent repeated flags on the subject. Yesterday they sent General Robertson, Andrew Eliot and William Smith, Esquires; the two latter were not permitted to land. General Greene met General Robertson; he had nothing material to urge, but that *Andre* had come on shore under the sanction of a flag, and therefore could not be considered as a spy. But this is not true. He came at night, had no flag, and on business totally incompatible with the nature of a flag. He also said, "they should retaliate on some people in New York and Charleston; but he was told that such conversation could neither be heard nor understood. After which he urged the release of *Andre* on mo-

1780. tives of humanity, and because Sir Henry Clinton was much attached to him.

The author of the foregoing letter concludes it with saying, "I have been particular in this narration, not knowing what strange stories you will have on the subject."

The court martial, for trial of Major Andre, consisted of thirteen General officers. Major-General Greene President, and John Lawrence, Esq. Advocate General.

Arnold, for a pecuniary reward, betrayed his trust. He would have sacrificed the lives of his countrymen, and by delivery of the fortress, done irreparable injury to his country; but all gracious heaven interposed, and prevented his nefarious designs taking effect. Though he escaped the punishment he deserved, by a flight to the enemy, yet he cannot escape the remonstrances of his conscience, which, perhaps, in some period of his life, may give him severer pain than any bodily infliction: Nor will the infamy he hath brought on his character, ever be effaced.

Besides the money he had, or was to receive from the enemy, it is probable he was actuated partly by a spirit of revenge in this ignominious transaction, from the following circumstances which have been related. He was censured for his mal-practices at Philadelphia, after the British force had evacuated it in 1778. He was impeached by the executive council of that city, and tried by a court martial at Morristown; and though found guilty of some of the charges, so tender were they of him, that he was only reprimanded by the commander in chief. He was accused of committing depredations on private property, and selling large quantities of goods at private sale, through his agents. He was convicted of granting a pass contrary to general orders, to favour a scheme of speculation, and employing waggons for his own private use at improper times.

Oct. 6. Henry Laurens, Esq. late President of Congress (taken on his passage to Holland) was committed to the tower of London, by a warrant of this date, signed by the three principal Secretaries of State, Stormont, Hillsborough and Germaine; directed to Charles Earl Cornwallis, constable of the tower, and his deputy. He is committed till further orders on suspicion of treason, in the revolted colonies.

In this month, a new arrangement of the continental army, was resolved on by Congress.

The regular army of the United States, from and after the first day of January, 1781, to consist of four regiments of cavalry, or light dragoons, four regiments of artillery, forty-nine regiments of infantry, exclusive of Colonel Hazen's, called, "The Congress' own regiment"—one regiment of

artificers. The respective States to furnish their quotas as proportioned by Congress. That no new appointments of the States, to command the regiments, be made of a higher rank than a Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant. And as by the foregoing arrangement many deserving officers may become supernumerary, Congress resolved,

1780.

"That after the reform of the army takes place, the officers shall be entitled to half pay for seven years, in specie, or other current money equivalent; and to have grants of land at the close of the year, agreeable to the resolution of the 16th of September, 1776."

Some days after the above resolves, Congress made an alteration, and instead of the four regiments of cavalry, resolved,

"That there be four legionary corps, consisting partly of mounted dragoons, and two troops of dismounted dragoons, that there be two partizan corps, consisting of mounted and dismounted dragoons, one of which corps to be commanded by Colonel Armand, and the other by Major Lee. The officers who continue in service to the end of the war to be entitled to half pay during life, to commence from the time of the reduction.

An officer of distinction in the Continental army, gives the following relation of an action between General Van Renselaer, and Sir John Johnson:

Oct. 20.

"General Van Renselaer, with the militia, and the new levies, under Colonel Du Bois, engaged the enemy under Sir John Johnson, yesterday morning, at Fox's Mills, Tryon-county; and after a very severe action of three quarters of an hour, forced them to give way, and cross the river, leaving their plunder, baggage, and prisoners behind them, an hour's light would have given us the whole party. The action was general and vigorous. Colonel Brown was killed in skirmishing the fore part of the day. The country is desolated from Fort-Hunter up to Stone-Arabia, and in part of it, the grain and forage all destroyed." The above party also destroyed *Scholarie*; the inhabitants got into the fort, who, with the garrison, are safe.

Sir Henry Clinton having appointed Brigadier-General Lellie to command an expedition to Chesapeake; he proceeded with the troops destined for that service, invaded Virginia, and endeavoured to establish a post there.

Governour Jefferson of Virginia, in a letter from Richmond, congratulates Congress "On the small dawn of good fortune which at length appeared in the south," of which he was informed by dispatches from General Gates containing

1780.

the account of some successes in that quarter, after the unfortunate action near Camden.

Colonel Clark with one hundred riflemen forced his way through South Carolina to Georgia; on his route thither being joined by seven hundred men, he proceeded to the town of *Augusta* and took it; but not finding it prudent to continue there, he retreated to the upper part of South Carolina in Ninety-Six district, and made a stand with eight hundred men.

Oct. 7.

“Colonel William Campbell defeated Major Ferguson, the noted loyal partizan, the seventh of the month. By his account we learn on his receiving intelligence that Major Ferguson had advanced up as far as Gilbert-town, in Rutherford county, and threatened to cross the mountains to the western waters, he was joined by the Cols. Shelby, Seiver, M'Dowel, Cleavland and J. Williams, these combined, made their force to consist of about eighteen hundred militia. A council of the principal officers having thought it advisable to pursue the enemy, with nine hundred of the best horsemen, and leave the rest to follow. They began their pursuit about eight o'clock the same evening, and marching all night came up with the enemy about three o'clock, P. M. of the 7th, who lay encamped on the top of King's Mountain, twelve miles north of the Cherokee-ford, in the confidence they could not be forced from so advantageous a post. They got within a quarter of a mile of the enemy before they were discovered. Colonel Shelby's and Colonel Campbell's regiments began the attack, and kept up a fire on the enemy while the right and left wings were advancing forward to surround them, which was done in about five minutes, and the fire became general all round. The engagement lasted an hour and five minutes; the greatest part of which time, a heavy and incessant fire was kept on both sides. His men, in some parts where the regulars fought, were obliged to give way a small distance, two or three times, but rallied and returned with additional ardour to the attack.

The troops upon the right having gained the summit of the eminence, obliged the enemy to retreat along the top of the ridge to where Colonel Cleavland commanded, and were there stopped by his brave men; a flag was immediately hoisted by Captain Depeyester, the commanding officer, as a signal to surrender (Major Ferguson having been killed a little before.) The firing immediately ceased, and the enemy laid down their arms, the greatest part of them loaded, and surrendered themselves at discretion.

It appeared by Colonel Campbell's relation, that from the enemy's own provision returns for that day found in the

camp, that their whole force consisted of eleven hundred and twenty-five men. Eighteen of the regulars were killed, one hundred and three wounded and taken prisoners: Two hundred and six of the Tories were killed, one hundred and twenty-eight wounded and six hundred and twenty-nine were made prisoners. Colonel Campbell's loss was twenty-eight killed (among whom was Colonel Williams) and sixty were wounded.

1780.

The trade of Great Britain having greatly suffered by the captures made by American armed vessels, the British concerted measures to discourage *privateering* in the States, and as one means to effect this purpose, they came to a resolution "Not to exchange in America, the Captains or commanders of such armed vessels, but to send them prisoners to England." This resolution was put in execution, and was a distressing circumstance to the families of such as resided in the States.

Major-General Green was appointed to succeed General Gates in South Carolina at a very critical period.

The capture of Charleston, the defeat of General Gates, and the successes of Tarleton, had brought the Continental affairs into a very hazardous situation in that quarter, and afforded very unfavourable prospects there; but not long after General Green's arrival, things took a different turn, and appearances were more promising on the side of the Continentals.

Oct. 31.

The resolutions of Congress for a new arrangement of the army, was not conformable to their expectations, and caused uneasiness among them. The Commander in chief saw a storm was gathering, and thought it prudent, on this occasion, to communicate his opinion to Congress, on the best means to avert it. On the 11th of the month, he informed Congress, "That the general topic of declamation in the army was, that it was as hard as dishonourable, for men, who had made every sacrifice to the service, to be turned out of it at the pleasure of those in power, without an adequate compensation. Too many of the officers wish to get rid of their commissions, but they are not willing to be forced to it."

The Commander in chief in his communication to Congress, suggests the policy of making ample provision, both for the officers who stay, and for those who are reduced. He recommended what he thought would be the most economical, the most politic, and the most effectual provisions viz. a *half pay* for life. "Supported (the General says) by a prospect of a permanent dependence, the officers would be tied to the service, and would submit to many momentary preventions, and to the inconveniences which the situation of public service made unavoidable. If the objection drawn

1780.

from the principle that this measure is incompatible with the genius of our government, be thought insurmountable, I would propose a substitute, less eligible in my opinion, but which may answer the purpose; it is to make the present *half pay*, for seven years, *whole pay* for the same period, to be advanced at two different payments, one half in a year after conclusion of peace, the other half in two years subsequent to the first."

His Excellency also takes notice of the injuries and inconveniences that attend a continual change of officers, and consequent promotions in the army.

Soon after Congress were possessed of the sentiments of General Washington they resolved, "That the commander in chief, and commanding officer in the northern department, direct the officers of each State to meet, and agree upon the officers for the regiments to be raised by their respective States, from those who incline to continue in service, and where it cannot be done by agreement, to be determined by seniority; and make return of those who are to remain, which is to be transmitted to Congress, together with the names of the officers reduced, who are to be allowed half-pay for life. That the officers who shall continue in service to the end of the war, shall also be entitled to half-pay during life, to commence from the time of their reduction."

These resolutions had a salutary effect, and kept matters quiet for a time.

Nov. 20.

Major-General Greene transmitted to Congress an account of a successful action of General Sumpter, at Black Forks, on Tryon river, which happened this day.

General Sumpter engaged with a body of three hundred cavalry, Tarlton's legion, and about two hundred and fifty British infantry. The conflict was warm and the enemy repulsed. They rallied, and on a second charge were repulsed again. They made a third effort, but a fire from an eminence of the Continentals, gave them an effectual check; they quitted the field and retired, leaving ninety dead, and an hundred wounded. Only three were killed, and four wounded on the part of the Continentals, among the latter, is General Sumpter. Some Tories from the out posts of the British, on Crane and Lynch creeks, advanced to intercept the waggons, and avail themselves of the supplies from those settlements designed for the advanced troops under the Continental General Smallwood, who having intelligence of it, dispatched General Morgan and Lieutenant-Colonel Washington to prevent it. The Lieutenant-Colonel having no artillery, made use of the following stratagem:

He mounted a log, and holding out the appearance of an attack with field pieces, gained his point by sending a flag, and demanding an immediate surrender of Colonel Rugeley and his party, who, on the approach of Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, had retired to a loged barn on Rugeley's plantation; they surrendered without firing a gun: And on

1780.

Colonel Tarleton's legion receiving a severe repulse in attempting to surprize Colonels Marrian and Clarke, who, with a detachment of five, or six hundred men, were posted in the District of Ninety-six. Upwards of an hundred of the enemy were left dead on the spot, and a great number wounded. Tarleton having received many wounds returned to Charleston. By the account given of this affair, the loss of the Continentals did not exceed ten in killed and wounded.

Dec. 16.

The disputes between England and Holland, had risen to a height that could be terminated only by a war between them.

The King of Great-Britain began it, and in a formal manner ordered general reprizals on Holland of subjects and effects.

Died at Newport this day, "His Excellency Charles Louis De Ternay, Knight of St. John of Jerusalem and Governour of the islands of France and Bourbon, commander in chief of the French fleet in the American seas. The command devolves on M. D'Estouches, Captain and Brigadier of the naval army."

Dec. 22.

This month the Continental army, under the immediate command of General Washington went into winter quarters on Hudson river. The commander in chief fixed his head quarters at New-Windfor on the west or Jersey side, nearly opposite to Fish-Kill.

Major-General Morgan in a letter to General Greene, of this date, informed him of the success of Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, in defeating a body of Georgia Tories, about two hundred and fifty in number, who had advanced as far as Fair-Forest, and were insulting and plundering the people in that neighbourhood: They had retreated on hearing of his approach. The next day he came up with them about forty miles from Pacolet creek (where Morgan was encamped.) They were alarmed, and flew to their horses. Washington extended his mounted riflemen on the wings and charged in front with his own regiment. They fled precipitately without making any resistance: an hundred and fifty were killed and wounded, and about thirty taken prisoners.

Dec. 31.

1781.

what makes this success more valuable, General Morgan writes, is, because it was obtained without the loss of a man on Washington's side.

It appears by the above relation, to be almost a total overthrow on the part of the Tories. Only seventy of their whole number escaped.

Jan. 5.

The Commissary of prisoners having laid before Congress an account of their situation, and the treatment the Continentals had received in the hands of the enemy. A committee of Congress appointed on this business, made report, "That notwithstanding every effort of Congress to obtain for our people, prisoners in the enemy's hands, that treatment which humanity alone should have dictated, the British commanders unmindful of the tenderness exercised towards their men, prisoners in our hands, and regardless of the practice of civilized nations, have persisted in treating our prisoners with them, with every species of insult, carnage and cruelty. Officers and men are indiscriminately thrown into the holds of prison ships,* and into loathsome dungeons, and there deprived of fuel, and the common necessities of life, by which means many of the citizens of these States have been compelled to enter into their service to avoid those distresses which a conduct so contrary to the law of nations, had brought upon them. Our seamen taken upon the American coast, have been sent to Great-Britain, or other parts beyond seas to prevent their being exchanged, or to force them to take arms against their country: That in the opinion of the committee, *an exercise of the law of retaliation is become necessary*, and a justice due to those citizens of America whom the fortune of war has thrown into the hands of our enemy." In consequence of this representation, Congress were induced to pass the following resolve, "That the British prisoners should receive the same allowances and treatment in every respect as the people who are prisoners receive from the enemy, and that the Board of Admiralty issue orders not to exchange any British sea officers or seamen, until the enemy have returned to some of the garrisons in America such seamen as they have taken upon the American coasts and sent to Great-Britain or other parts beyond seas, and to continue the treatment till Congress, or the commander in chief, shall order otherwise."

* In the Jersey prison ship, at New York, perished above eleven thousand, the last three years.

Dr. Stille's Election Sermon, Connecticut, May, 1783. Page 76.

A number of troops were embarked at New York, for Virginia, and the command given to the apostate *Arnold*, as a fit instrument to pillage and distress the inhabitants of that State.

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A discontent arose among some of the Continental soldiers of the Pennsylvanian line, belonging to General Wayne's division. About two thousand of these, headed by a Sergeant-Major, marched off from their encampment towards Delaware, and took post at Princetown.

That they had no design to go over to the enemy is evident from their treatment of a sergeant of the Royal army, and one Ogden, an inhabitant of New-Jersey (his guide) who came with proposals from Sir H. Clinton, which they not only rejected but delivered the messengers to General Wayne. (On the 10th of the month they were tried, and afterwards executed as spies.)

Jan. 10.

The discontent of the soldiers arose from the terms of their enlistments wanting explanation, whether it was for three years or during the war. Some invidious comparisons also were made between the large bounty given to those, whose times were confessedly out; and the condition of those who were engaged during the war.

To explain matters to them, a Committee of the Council of Pennsylvania, and a Committee of Congress repaired to the Jerseys, and Commissioners being appointed to hear their complaints, and redress their grievances, they were satisfied, and returned to their duty in the Continental army.

Holland declared war against England.

Jan. 12.

Jan. 17.

Brigadier-General Morgan, having defeated a detachment of the Royalists under Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, at a place called the *Cow-pens*, near Pacolet river (S. C.) Major-General Greene forwarded to Congress, General Morgan's letter to him, containing the particulars of the action. The Brigadier writes thus: "On the 14th of [January,] having intelligence that the British army were in motion, and that their movements clearly indicated their intention of dislodging me, I abandoned my encampment at Grindale's-ford, and took possession of a post seven miles from Cherokee-ford, on Brond river. My former position subjected me at once to the operations of Lord Cornwallis and Colonel Tarleton, and in case of a defeat, my retreat might easily have been cut off. My situation at the Cow-pens enabled me to improve any advantages that I might have gained, and to provide better for my security should I be unfortunate. These reasons

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induced me to take this post, notwithstanding it had the appearance of a retreat. On the evening of the 16th the enemy occupied the ground we removed from in the morning. An hour before day light, one of my scouts informed me they had advanced within five miles of our camp; on this information, the necessary dispositions were made, and from the alacrity of the troops, we were soon prepared to receive them. The light infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Howard, and the Virginia militia, under Major Triplet, were formed on a rising ground; the third regiment of dragoons consisting of about eighty men, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, were so posted in their rear, as not to be injured by the enemy's fire, and yet to be able to charge them, should an occasion offer. The volunteers from North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, under command of Colonel Pickens, were posted to guard the flanks. Major M'Dowal, of the North Carolina volunteers, was posted on the right flank, in front of the line, one hundred and fifty yards. Major Cunningham, of the Georgia Volunteers, on the left at the same distance in front. Colonels Brannons and Thomas, of the South Carolina volunteers, on the right of Major M'Dowal; and Colonels Hayes and M'Call, of the same corps on the left of Major Cunningham. Captains Peter and Buchanan, with some rifle-men, were to support the right of the line. The enemy drew up in one line four hundred yards in front of our advanced corps; the first battalion of the seventy-first regiment, was opposed to our right, the seventh to our left, the legion infantry to our center, and two companies of light troops, of one hundred each, on our flanks. In their front they moored two pieces of artillery; and Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, with two hundred and eighty cavalry, were posted in the rear of his line. The disposition being thus made, small parties of rifle-men were detached to skirmish with the enemy, on which their whole line advanced with the greatest impetuosity, shouting as they advanced.

"Majors M'Dowal and Cunningham gave them a heavy and galling fire, and retreated to the regiments intended for their support. The whole of Colonel Pickens's command then kept up a fire by regiments retreating agreeable to orders. When the enemy advanced to our line, they received a well directed and incessant fire; but their number being superiour to ours, they gained our flanks which obliged us to change our position. We retired in good order about

1781.

fifty paces; formed, advanced on the enemy and gave them a brisk fire, which threw them into disorder. Lieutenant-Colonel Howard observing this, gave orders for the line to charge bayonets, which was done with such address, that the enemy fled with the utmost precipitation. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington discovering that the cavalry were cutting down our rifle-men on the left, he charged them with such firmness as obliged them to retire in confusion. The enemy were entirely routed, and the pursuit continued upwards of twenty miles. Our loss was inconsiderable, not having more than twelve killed and sixty wounded. The enemy's loss was ten commissioned officers, and upwards of one hundred rank and file killed, two hundred wounded, twenty-nine commissioned officers, and above five hundred prisoners, which fell into our hands. With two pieces of artillery, two standards, eight hundred muskets, one travelling forge, thirty-five baggage waggons, seventy negroes, and upwards of one hundred dragoon horses with all their music: They destroyed most of their baggage which was immense. Although our success was complete, we fought with only eight hundred men, and were opposed to upwards of one thousand chosen British troops. Such was the inferiority of our numbers, that our success must be attributed under God to the justice of our cause, and the bravery of our troops.

Lord Cornwallis upon hearing of the defeat of Tarleton, marched in pursuit of the light infantry and prisoners, previous to which Brigadier-General Morgan had made forced marches up into the country and crossed the Catawba. The morning before a great rain fell, which swelled the river to such a degree as prevented the enemy from fording several days. During which time, the prisoners had got over the Yadkin and passed Dan river, and escaped him.

Major-General Greene, being informed of the movements of Cornwallis put his army in motion on Pedee, and leaving it under command of General Auger, set out to join the light infantry camp at Shazards fort on the Catawba, in order to collect the militia and embarrass the enemy. The enemy crossed at McCowen's ford a little lower down, where General Davidson with a party of militia were posted. This General fell on the first discharge of the enemy, who made good their landing. The militia retreated and were dispersed. General Greene waited for the militia to collect at a place appointed for a rendezvous, but finding they did not collect, the light infantry continued their march

Jan. 7.

to Salisbury and crossed the Yadkin, but the enemy approached before they had got over all their baggage and stores, and a skirmishing ensued. The boats being secured, and the river continuing high, the enemy were for some time stopped in their pursuit. General Greene not being able to form a junction of his forces, and fearing the river would fall off as to be fordable, ordered his army to file off to Guilford court-house.

The enemy having crossed the Yadkin at the Swallow-ford, advanced within twenty-five or thirty miles of Guilford court-house. General Greene now ordered the stores and heavy baggage to be removed to Prince Edward's court-house in Virginia, and formed a light army to harass the enemy in their progress, whilst he, and the rest of his army, crossed the Roanoke with about two thousand. Lord Cornwallis had with him twenty-five hundred. He afterwards retreated with his troops to Hillsborough, where he divided his army into three divisions, one took the route to Salisbury, another towards Pedee, and the third towards Wilmington to join a body that had landed at Cape Fear.

Feb. 9.

M. D'Estouches, Chef d'Escadre of the French Squadron at Newport, dispatched from thence, M. Tilly with the *Eveillé* of sixty-four guns and two frigates for Virginia, where, having arrived, they captured the greatest part of the fleet which had accompanied Arnold to the Chesapeake, and infested that coast, some small vessels took shelter in a creek, and escaped. The French commander brought off the British man of war, *Romulus* of forty guns, and about five hundred prisoners, taken in the various vessels; he also took six armed transports, laden with stores, burnt four others, and returned to Newport.

March 5.

M. D'Estouches having sailed from Newport with the principal ships of the French Squadron, and the *Romulus*, fell in with Admiral Arbuthnot's fleet of nine sail, from Gardiner's Island.* An engagement took place this day between the two fleets. The British being much shattered, proceeded to Chesapeake, and the French returned to Newport, it appeared each side were willing to quit the combat, the British were rather superior in force.

Mar. 15.

On this day a battle was fought between the army under General Greene, and the Royalists under Lord Cornwallis at Guilford court-house, North Carolina. General Greene,

* Gardiner's Island adjoins Long Island, and is distant from Newport about forty miles.

in his letter to the President of Congress, relates the following particulars of the action.

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"On the morning of the 15th, our reconnoitering parties reported, the enemy was advancing to the great Salisbury road. The army was drawn up in three lines. The North Carolina militia under Generals Butler and Eaton, the second of Virginia militia commanded by Generals Stevens and Lawton, forming two brigades, the third line consisting of two brigades, one of Virginia and one of Maryland Continentals, commanded by General Huger and Colonel Williams. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, with the dragoons of the first and third regiments of light-infantry, composed of Continental troops, and a regiment of rifle-men, under Colonel Lynch, formed a corps of observation, for the security of our *right* flank. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee with his legion, a detachment of light-infantry, and a corps of rifle-men, under Colonel Campbell, formed a corps of observation for the security of our *left* flank. The greatest part of the country is a wilderness, with a few cleared fields, interspersed here and there. The army was drawn up on a large hill of ground, surrounded by other hills, the greater part of which was covered with timber and thick under brush. The front line was posted with two field pieces, just in the edge of the woods, and the back of a fence which run parallel with the line, with an open field directly in front. The second line was in the woods about three hundred yards, in the rear of the second, with a double front, as the hills drew to a point, where they were posted; and on the right and left were two old fields.

"In this position General Greene waited the approach of the enemy, having previously sent off the baggage to the iron works ten miles from Guildford court-house, the place appointed to rendezvous at in case of a defeat. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, met the enemy on their advance, and had a very severe skirmish with Colonel Tarleton, in which the enemy suffered greatly. Captain Armstrong charged the British Legion, and cut down near thirty of their dragoons, but as the enemy reinforced their advanced party, Lieutenant Colonel Lee, was obliged to retire and take his position in the line. The action commenced by a cannonade which lasted about twenty minutes, when the enemy advanced in three columns, the Hessians on the right, the guards in the centre, and Lieutenant-Colonel Webster's brigade on the left. The whole moved through the old fields, to attack the North Caro-

lina brigades, who waited the attack until the enemy got within about one hundred and forty yards, when part of them began a fire, but a considerable part left the ground without firing at all. The Generals and field officers did all they could to induce the men to stand their ground, but neither the advantages of the position, nor any other consideration could induce them to stay. The Virginia militia gave the enemy a warm reception and continued it for a long time, but being beat back, the action became general every where. The corps of observation under Lieutenant Colonels Washington and Lee were warmly engaged and did great execution; the conflict was long and severe and the enemy only gained their point by superior discipline. They having broke the second Maryland regiment and turned our left flank and got into the rear of the Virginia brigade, and appearing to be gaining our right, which would have encircled the whole of the Continental troops, General Greene thought it most advisable to order a retreat. About this time Lieutenant-Colonel Washington had made charge with the horse upon a part of the brigade of guards, and the first regiment of Marylanders, commanded by Colonel Grenby, and seconded by Lieutenant-Colonel Howard, followed the horse with their bayonets; near the whole of this party fell a sacrifice. General Hugar was the last that was engaged, and gave the enemy a check.

"We retreated in good order to the Reedy Ford river and crossed at the ford about three miles from the field of action, and there halted and drew up the troops until we collected most of our stragglers. We lost our artillery and two ammunition waggons, the greatest part of our horses being killed before the retreat began, and it being impossible to remove the pieces along the great road. After collecting our stragglers we retired to this camp (at the iron works) ten miles distant from Guildford.

"From the best accounts I can get, the enemy's loss is very great, not less than 600 killed and wounded, besides some few prisoners we brought off. "On the side of the Continentals, General Stevens and Hugar were wounded. General Greene returned 329 killed, wounded, and missing, many of the latter went to their homes after the action," an officer in General Greene's army, remarked, "That he considered this action, with reference to Cornwallis, like that of Burgoyne's, the 19th of September, 1777; he kept in the field, but it proved his ruin."

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A letter wrote by General Greene, seven days after the action, says: "That Cornwallis's troops were too much galled to improve their success; that he (Greene) lay that day at the iron works, preparing for another action, expecting the enemy to advance; but of a sudden they took their departure, and left behind them evident marks of distress. All the wounded at Guilford which had fallen into their hands; and seventy of their own, too bad to move, were left behind at New-Garden. Most of their officers suffered; Lord Cornwallis had his horse shot under him; Colonel Stuart of the guards was killed; General O'Hara, and Colonels Tarleton and Webster wounded." The Royal army retreated towards Cross-creek, and to Wilmington, on Cape Fear river. The loss of the Royalists at Guilford, an officer reported to be six hundred and sixty-three, exclusive of officers. Lord Cornwallis's army was reduced to about seventeen hundred. Lord Rawden was at Camden with about five hundred regulars.

After the Guildford battle, General Greene turned his attention again towards South Carolina to that part of it where Lord Rawden was posted in order to attempt to dispossess him of *Camden* (about a hundred and twenty-five miles from Charleston.) In consequence of General Greene's plan, an action took place this day. General Greene lay before Camden, and finding it impossible to storm the town with a prospect of success, he took a position to induce the enemy to sally. A hill about a mile from the town on the main road leading to Waxhaws, was the place pitched on for his troops. It was covered with timber, and flanked on the left by an impassable morass; the country between that and the town covered by heavy wood and under brush.

In this situation they lay upon their arms ready for action. On the morning of the 25th of April his advanced piquets were fired upon. The enemy advanced, and were received with great gallantry. The troops on each quarter being properly disposed for the action, the whole were soon engaged in close firing, and the artillery under Colonel Harrison played on their front. The enemy upon the left were retreating, and General Greene's troops advancing on them, but unfortunately two companies of the right, of the first Maryland regiment got disordered, and Colonel Gunby having given orders for the rest of the (regiment then advancing to take a new position in the rear where the two companies were rallying. This impressed the whole regiment with the idea of a retreat, and communicated to the second regiment,

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which immediately followed the first. In their retiring, both were rallied, but too late; the enemy had gained the hill and obliged the artillery to retire. The second Virginia regiment having advanced some distance down the hill, and the Maryland line being gone, the enemy immediately turned their flank, while they engaged in front. Colonel Washington of the horse, found the enemy, both horse and foot, retiring towards the town, and took upwards of two hundred prisoners, with ten or fifteen officers, before he discovered his army had left the ground. The Continentals got into too much disorder to recover the fortune of the day, which at first promised success; they retired two or three miles without loss of artillery, ammunition, waggons, or baggage. The enemy suffered greatly; their force was not materially different. General Greene lost, in killed and wounded, one hundred and thirty-four, and missing one hundred and thirty-six; one third of the latter were afterwards heard of on their return.

A body of British troops, under command of *Major-General Phillips* (who was taken with General Burgoyne and lately exchanged) sailed from New-York, and arrived in Virginia the beginning of April, and joined those already there at Portsmouth on James river under Arnold. Upwards of four thousand men were embarked soon after, on the same design. The troops were employed in ravaging Virginia, rifling the plantations, and destroying public and private property. A body of Continentals, under Marquis de la Fayette, consisting of about fifteen hundred, were dispatched to Virginia to join Baron Steuben; their joint force, together with the militia, under General Muhlenberg, were to oppose the enemy.

Major General Phillips having chief command of the British in Virginia he took post at Manchester, called Rocky Rega, the south side of James-town about half a mile from Richmond, with a view to capture the military stores, collected at the capital, but he retired without making the attempt or attacking the Continentals. Major General Phillips died soon after, and Arnold again resumed the command.

May 14.

A party of Continentals, commanded by Colonel *Christopher Greene*, (who bravely distinguished himself in defence of Fort Mercer at Red Bank in October, 1777) being stationed near Croten river, in the neighbourhood of Fish Kill, were surprised by the enemy about sunrise. Their guards came first to Colonel Greene's and Major Flagg's quarters, and killed the Major in bed. The Colonel was badly wound-

ed in the house, then carried into the woods and cut to pieces. Two subalterns, and twenty-seven privates, were also killed, and many wounded and missing. The reporter of this tragical affair, said this was perpetrated by Delancey's refugee corps, of two hundred foot, and sixty horse; who forded the river, and came on their backs. Another account says it was done by an hundred and fifty English dragoons.

Robert Morris, Esq. of Philadelphia, being appointed by Congress, *Superintendent of the finances* of the United States, laid before them a plan for *establishing a National Bank*. The reasons on which this plan is founded, are: "That the exigency of the United States required an *anticipation* of the revenues; while at the same time there was no such confidence established, as would call for that purpose the funds of individual citizens. The use of the bank, therefore, is to *aid* the government by their monies and credit; to supply the loss of paper money, which by coming more and more useless, called every day for its final redemption; and to give a new spring to commerce when the freedom of the States shall be established. The subscribers will receive that advantage from the investment of their capital which has invariably attended the business of banking, in every free commercial country. The utility of the scheme ariseth from a consideration that when the credit of the bank is fully established, and it is known to possess considerable sums, the *notes* will not only have an equal currency with gold and silver, but even be preferred, being more portable. Not like hard money, liable to be clipped or otherwise fraudulently reduced. Private checks, which will constantly vary, will be a bar against counterfeits, and the certainty of receiving gold and silver takes away the possibility of depreciation."

The plan met the approbation of Congress. They passed resolves conformable thereto, and established a national bank at Philadelphia.

Admiral *De Barras* being appointed to command the French fleet at Newport, he arrived at Boston, and brought dispatches for General Rochambeau.

A French man of war, of fifty guns, arrived at Boston with her convoy of fourteen sail of transports, having on board fifteen hundred recruits for Count Rochambeau.

The Continental army in Carolina were successful after the action of Guilford, and they gained the ascendancy in that quarter over the British. Lord Rawdon evacuated Camden, the 10th of last month, leaving three officers and fifty privates so dangerously wounded in the late action, as

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to be unable to be removed. They burnt the stores, baggage, &c. and left it a heap of ruins. His Lordship retreated towards Charleston, and General Greene took possession of the post he had left.

The next day, *Orangeburg*, where the Royalists had a strong post, surrendered to General Sumpter. One Colonel, several other officers, and eighty privates, were made prisoners. General Marrian, on the 12th of May, took *Fort Mott*; the garrison consisted of nineteen officers, and one hundred and sixty privates who capitulated; as did also *Fort Granby*, the 14th of the same month, to Lieutenant-Colonel Lee; when one Lieutenant-Colonel, two Majors, some other officers, and three hundred and five privates, became his prisoners. Besides the above, the posts of *Portlago*, *Georgetown*, *Fort Watson*, *Congarees*, &c. which the Royalists had established for controuling the country, and preserving its communications, were also given up.

Lord Cornwallis finding he could not foil General Greene in South Carolina, and make an entire conquest of that and the adjoining State of North Carolina, as on his successes hitherto, he flattered himself he should be able to accomplish. He now thought it best to quit those States, and try his prowess in another, and accordingly pushed forward with the greatest part of his army, to the State of Virginia already invested by British troops. Lord Rawdon, succeeded to the command of the Royalists in Carolina.

June 19.

General Greene attempted to storm the British post at *Ninety-Six* in S. C. It was garrisoned with three hundred and fifty men, besides militia under Lieutenant-Colonel Cru-ger.

Lord Rawdon having received reinforcements from Cork, marched with about two thousand, to *Ninety-Six*; before he arrived, General Greene had been repulsed, in his attempt to storm it, and had retired behind the *Saluda*, sixteen miles from *Ninety-Six*, when Lord Rawdon arrived there. After this, General Greene had the good fortune to break up this post, and destroy the works; and then retired to *Monk's corner*, within twenty-six miles of Charleston.

The Generals Sumpter and Marrian, and Colonel Lee (having as related) broken up the posts in the country, Lord Rawdon with his troops, moved towards the capital. In the baggage belonging to the nineteenth regiment, taken at *Ninety-Six*, was found seven hundred guineas, which it was said General Greene had distributed among his troops as a reward for their bravery.

On Lord Cornwallis arriving in Virginia, he ordered a junction of the several corps of British, operating there; and was reinforced with sixteen hundred men, from New York; their whole force being augmented to more than six thousand, his Lordship having the chief command. Arnold decamped and returned to New York, and his Lordship began his operations in Virginia.

1781.

The Marquis de la Fayette, who was sent to watch the motions of his Lordship, proceeded about eight miles above Richmond; having under his command, fifteen hundred Continental regulars, and a body of militia. He was soon after joined by General Wayne's division, of about a thousand. Cornwallis having been prevented from possessing himself of some stores at Attermarle old court-house, retired to Richmond where he was the 18th of this month (June.) This place he evacuated two days after, being followed by the Continentals, who were joined by Baron Steuben. Cornwallis's rout was towards Williamsburg, his right and left flank being covered by a large corps, commanded by Colonel Simcoe. The Marquis de la Fayette pushed forward a detachment under Colonel Butler and Major M'Pherson, having mounted fifty light infantry behind an equal number of dragoons. They came up with the enemy, and charged them within six miles of Williamsburg. Some of the advanced corps, composed of rifle-men under Majors Call and Wills, began a smart action the 26th of the month, in which the enemy lost about sixty killed, including several officers, and one hundred wounded. The Marquis lost by his return only thirty-seven, of which nine were killed. The disproportion of loss, the Marquis said, "The skill of our rifle-men easily explained."

A party of Continental light horse, under Colonel Scammel, having embarked in boats and landed at Spicken-devil, near Kinsbridge, the enemy had intelligence of it, and attacked them soon after landing. Though inferior in number, they killed and wounded many of the enemy. Five of the Continentals were killed and a few wounded.

July 3.

Three brigades of General Wayne's division of troops in Virginia had a smart action the sixth of this month, with the Royalists in the old field, by James-town church, in which both sides lost a considerable number of men. An officer of rank, who was in the action, writes thus, two days after it happened: "The slowness of the enemy's pursuit was remarkable, and must be owing to the great loss they sustained. Ours does not exceed one hundred and twenty killed and wounded. No officers among the former, but a great many among the latter; almost every field officer's horse killed or

July 6.

1781.

wounded. One of the Marquis Fayette's horses was killed; not a man in the whole detachment was more exposed than him. The enemy have precipitately crossed the [James] river, leaving our wounded on this side."

Another officer is more particular, and gives the following account. "Cornwallis having encamped near James-town, the Marquis Fayette sent General Wayne, with the Pennsylvania line, to take their station within a small distance of the British army, and watch their motions. About three hundred riflemen occupied the ground between General Wayne and Lord Cornwallis, who were directed to scatter themselves in the woods without order, and annoy the enemy's camp. This they did with such effect, that a small party was sent out against them to dislodge them; each side continuing to reinforce, at length the whole of General Wayne's division was engaged; they drove the advanced detachments back to their lines, and without stopping there, attacked the whole British army, drawn up in order of battle, and charged them with their bayonets. The action was obstinate for the little time it lasted, but the disproportion of numbers was too great. The Marquis arrived in person time enough to order a retreat, and bring off the Pennsylvania troops before they were surrounded, which the enemy were endeavouring to effect, being able greatly to out-flank them. Cornwallis did not pursue them more than about half a mile in their retreat, apprehending that the rest of our army was near enough to support them, not choosing to risque a general engagement. We lost two field pieces which could not be brought off, all the horses belonging to them being killed. Captain Savage did great execution with a third field piece under his command, situate in such a manner as to rake with grape shot, a solid column of the enemy on their march; with which he cut lanes through them, and repeatedly drove them back in the greatest confusion. The rifle-men and infantry were of great service, and gave the enemy some heavy and well directed fires. The whole of our troops that were engaged that day did not amount to more than eleven hundred. General Wayne's division lost one hundred and seven privates and non-commissioned officers, killed, wounded and missing, and twelve commissioned officers; among the last, Captain Stakes, wounded in the leg, and Captain Cunningham in the foot, both slightly. Of about forty of the wounded, whom I have seen, but one is thought dangerous.

We suffered no loss of any consequence except in General Wayne's division. The British immediately after the

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action, which ended about nine o'clock in the evening, crossed James river; the whole army were crossed over by the morning, excepting a part of their light horse, for which they had boats ready to bring them off instantly, in case of an emergency. Those of our wounded who were left on the field to the number of about twenty-five, were treated by the enemy with more humanity than usual, and were left behind. Cornwallis finding he had killed none but of the Pennsylvania line, from that circumstance and the information of his prisoners learned, that only that line, with a few riflemen and light infantry, had been in the action, and found greater cause of chagrin that such a handful of men should have made so spirited an attack on his army, than of exultation for having repulsed them.

"The Marquis is moving up James river." The letter concludes with encomiums on the Marquis's humanity and goodness in visiting the wounded and ministering to their relief, &c.*

Admiral Arbuthnot returning to England this month, the command of the British fleet, at New York, devolved on Admiral Thomas Greaves. *July.*

This day was executed at Charleston (S. C.) Colonel *Isaac Hayne*, of that State, by order of Lord Rawdon, commander of the British troops, and Colonel Baltour, the royal commandant and superintendant of the police in Charleston. The unhappy gentleman left sundry papers which he enjoined on a friend, to transmit to the Delegates for South Carolina, at Congress. These were printed at Philadelphia, and from them is collected the following particulars: *August 3.*

"At the time of the surrender of Charleston, Colonel Hayne was in the country; the small pox was near his plantation, where he had a wife, six small children, and upwards of an hundred servants, all liable to the distemper. No American army in the State, and no opposition like to be made to the enemy, and he liable every moment to be made a prisoner at discretion; and hearing that a Captain Sanders, in the same predicament with himself, had been permitted to his parole, by the commandant of Charleston, he determined to go and deliver himself a prisoner of war on parole, *not having the most distant intention of accepting protection.* General Pattison (then commandant) refused him parole, and told him

* *Extract of a letter printed in Baltimore, said to be written by a gentleman in Captain Moon's troop of Baltimore dragoons, dated July 11th.*

1781.

in positive terms, he must either *take protection*, or prepare for a prison ship; he was also refused parole till his family had recovered from the small pox, when he would return, and surrender himself at discretion. Upon being at his request shewn the form of a protection, his patriotic mind revolted at the idea of taking up arms against his country, as there expressed. He was told by the commandant, that was the usual form of a declaration of allegiance; but that the *inhabitants would never be called upon to take up arms, and obtaining assurances that he never should be called upon*, was induced from regard to his family (who must have been involved in the most accumulated distress by his absence) to take one of their protections. The instrument of protection, excepting the part he objected to, expressed no more than peaceable subjection to their government, as long as they should have possession of the country.

"When the Americans regained possession of the country where he was, he returned to his allegiance of the United States.

"This he was perfectly justified in, by the law of nations, more especially if it be considered that the profession of allegiance to them, had been extorted by an actual duress; and that he was repeatedly called upon in direct violation of the solemn assurances of the commandant to bear arms against America; which, however, he always found means to avoid. Upon his joining the American army, General Greene, in consideration of his merit and abilities, conferred on him the rank of a Colonel; and soon after he had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the enemy.

"He was brought before a court of enquiry and interrogated; but neither the members nor witnesses were sworn. He had notice given him the 29th of July, "That Lord Rawdon and the commandant [Balfour] had come to a resolution, in consequence of the court of enquiry, that he should be executed on Tuesday the 31st." He enquired of Mr. Colcock (his intended counsel if he had had legal trial) "Whether the proceedings were warranted by any law, and the sentence legal." (He had neither counsel nor witnesses in his behalf.) Mr Colcock's answer was in substance "That he was clearly of opinion that considering him as an enemy (not as a spy) the proceedings against him are not warranted by law; and that as a subject they are directly repugnant and contrary thereto." Colonel Hayne in a letter to Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour, desired that his execution might be extended, that he might take a last farewell of his

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children, &c. He was informed their resolutions remained unalterable.

1781.

His request to take leave of his children was at first denied. The 31st (the day on which he was to have been executed) he was informed that in consequence of a petition signed by Governour Bull, and others, and his kind treatment of British officers, who had fell into his hands, he was to have a respite for forty-eight hours, which gave him opportunity to see his children. The first of August the Town Major informed him, that forty-eight hours longer were allowed him. Previous to this, Major Frazer had told him, "That the moment any representation was made to the commandant, by General Greene, in his behalf, the respite ceased, and he would be immediately ordered for execution."

The Royal commanders would not spare his life, no applications nor entreaties, on his behalf, could prevail. The ladies of Charleston, all of them, excepting (it is said) four, signed a petition, to "Avert, prolong, or mitigate his sentence;"* but without effect.

About the middle of this month, the Royal army, at New York, were reinforced with three thousand German troops, from Bremen.

Admiral Count de Grasse, arrived off Chesapeake bay, with thirty-four sail of French men of war. *Aug. 26.*

Arnold was employed by Sir H. Clinton, to ravage and waste Connecticut (the State which gave him birth.) *Sept. 6.*

He landed with a body of Royalists at the mouth of *New-London* harbour, and proceeded to the town; he burnt the greatest part of it, and *Groten*, near the water. Fort Trumbull not being tenable, the garrison were forced to quit it, and went over to Fort Griswold at Groten, where chiefly militia men were stationed. Colonel Ledyard, who commanded it, repulsed the invaders three or four times, but was obliged at length to surrender the fort, upon its being stormed. After he had surrendered (the relator of this transaction, a militia officer, the day after it took place, says) "They murdered the Colonel, and a number of others; seventy-four officers and men killed, and between thirty and forty wounded in the fort. They carried off about forty prisoners; but few were

* Lord Rawdon, (son of Earl Moisa of Ireland) when he left Carolina, was taken on his passage to England, by one of Count de Grasse's squadron, and sent to France, where he was well treated, and had liberty to return to England on his parole.

1781.

taken from the enemy." The loss in goods and provisions, stores and shipping, was very great. In the attack of the fort, the enemy lost Major Montgomery, and fifty-two officers and men were killed; their wounded were carried off.

Colonel Ayres, who commanded the division, was wounded (it was said) mortally. Arnold headed the division, which marched to New London.

It was judged that an hundred inhabitants, were deprived of their habitations, and most of them, their *all*. Sixty dwelling houses, and eighty-four stores, were destroyed.

The British fleet, at New-York, was reinforced. Sir Samuel Hood, arrived there with thirteen ships of the line, four frigates and two fire-ships. The Admirals T. Greaves, Drake, and Hood, have now a command of thirty sail of British men of war.

Sept. 7.

At *Eutaw Springs*, about fifty miles from Charleston, an action happened between General Greene and the main body of the Royalists under Colonel Stuart. The General dispatched one of his aids to Congress with a letter to the President, containing the following intelligence: "That the General having crossed Howell's ferry and taken post, he got information that the enemy were at *Eutaw Springs*, about forty miles below him. That they had been reinforced and were preparing to establish a permanent post there. Though the General's number was inferior, he determined to hazard an action, and for this purpose began his march the fifth of September, having put his army into proper disposition, and being joined on the seventh by General Marrian, he pushed on to attack them. The legion and State troops fell in with a party of the enemy's horse and foot, about four miles from their camp, and drove them.

The army moved on, and the firing began again. About two or three miles from their camp, a close and fierce engagement began. The Generals Marrian and Pickens, and Colonel Malmedy conducting them with great bravery; but the enemy's fire being superior, and they advancing, General Greene's militia began to give way, when General Sumner, with the North Carolina brigades, was ordered to their support; they fought with great gallantry on both sides. In this state of the action, Colonel Campbell with the Virginians, and Colonel Williams with the Marylanders, rushing on impetuously, carried all before them, and routed the enemy in all quarters. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee at the same time charged them in the rear, and turned their left flank. Col. Hampton, of the State cavalry, charged a party, and took

1781.

upwards of one hundred prisoners. They were prevented from rallying and forming (which they seemed disposed to do) by Colonel Washington bringing up the corps de reserve on the left; and with the assistance of Captain Kirkwood's infantry. General Greene pushed them closely till they broke, and he got into their camp. Some hundreds fell into his hands. But some of the enemy having betook themselves to a three stories brick house near the spring; others taking post in a picketed garden, and in the impenetrable shrubs, and their rear being secured by the springs and deep hollow ways, they renewed the action. Lieutenant-Colonel Washington, in attempting to dislodge them, and get thro' the thicket, had his horse shot under him, was wounded and taken prisoner. The party sent to dislodge them from the house and thicket suffered great loss by the fire from the house and party in the thicket; and most of the officers and men being killed or wounded, made it impossible to bring off four field-pieces, when they were ordered to retreat.

General Greene now thought it best to retire (his ammunition being mostly expended) out of the fire of the house, and draw up his troops a little distance from the woods. Having collected all his wounded, and retired to a place where there was water to refresh his troops, and leaving a strong piquet on the field of action, he detached General Marrian, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, between Eutaw and Charleston, to prevent reinforcements going to the enemy.

On the morning of the 7th of September, the enemy retired, leaving seventy of their wounded, and not less than a thousand stand of arms picked up on the field broke, and concealed in the springs. General Greene pursued; but they formed a junction with Major M'Arthur, near Ferguson's swamp. General Marrian and Colonel Lee, not having a force sufficient to prevent it; but upon the main body approaching, they retreated towards Charleston. Five hundred prisoners fell into his hands, including the wounded the enemy left behind. The brick house, and their peculiar strength of position at Eutaw, saved the remainder of the Royalists. The General bestows great encomiums on his officers, and thinks himself peculiarly indebted for the victory to the free use of the bayonet made by the Virginians, Marylanders, the infantry of the legion, and Captain Kirkwood's light infantry. He regrets the loss of that soldier and patriot Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell of Virginia, who fell as he was leading his troops to the charge: The loss he sustained in officers was considerably more from their value than their number.

1781.

Having pursued the Royalists as far as Martin's tavern, near Ferguson's swamp, and finding he could not overtake them, he halted with a design to take his old station on the high hills of Santee.

Sept. 11.

Such was the situation of General Greene's army the 11th of September; this action gave to General Greene, the undisputed mastery of the country of South Carolina.

Sept. 25.

Admiral Digby, in the Prince George of ninety guns, with two other line of battle ships, and a thirty-six gun frigate, arrived at New-York, from England.

In this fleet, came Prince *William Henry*,* a youth about fifteen years of age; the third son of King George the third.

He is the first Royal personage that ever came to America.

Before the above arrival, Admiral Greaves, with the British fleet, had sailed from New York, for the Chesapeake, in quest of the French fleet.

October.

About the middle of this month, Colonel Willet, of the Continentals, had an action with Major Ross in Tryon county, about fourteen miles above Fort Dayton, in which the noted Captain Walter Butler, and eight others were killed, and twenty taken prisoners. Their number amounted (as appeared by a memorandum, found in Butler's pocket-book) to be six hundred and seven, among whom were one hundred and thirty Indians, they had assembled in the upper part of the Mohawk district and employed themselves in killing the cattle, belonging to the inhabitants, and other depredations. They were entirely routed, and fled into the wilderness, where their prospect was dismal. Seven days march—rivers passable, but upon rafts—a barren wilderness, in an inclement season, to be encountered before they could obtain any provisions. The desolate region they traversed, in their flight, lies upwards of thirty miles north of Fort Schuyler. All their horses, excepting five, and their wounded, fell into the hands of Colonel Willet.

Nov.

Operations in Virginia, after the arrival of Count de Grasse.

Lord Cornwallis, with his troops, having taken possession of *York-town* and *Gloucester*, in August last, he established posts there. The former being the principal one, the Royalists were collected there, the 26th of that month, at the time Count de Grasse arrived off the Chesapeake, with a large fleet of French men of war, to assist in an expedition

* *The present Duke of Clarence.*

1781.

formed against his Lordship. In the beginning of September, Count de Grasse's fleet was joined by eight sail of men of war, from Newport, under M. Barrás. The French Admiral landed some troops in Virginia. The critical situation of Lord Cornwallis, called for every effort to be made by the Royal commanders at New York, to relieve him. For this purpose, the British fleet, under Admirals T. Greaves, Hood, and Drake, sailed from thence, for the Chesapeake. On their appearance off, the French slipped their cables, and put out after them. An engagement ensued, on the 7th of September, off Cape Henry. Count de Grasse commanded one division of the French, in the order of battle. M. de Mor-teuil and M. de Bouganville, the other two divisions. They prevailed over the British and obliged them to desist. Captain Robinson, of the Shrewsbury, lost one of his legs. The action began at four o'clock, P. M. and continued till sunset, when the firing ceased. Rear-Admiral Drake, commanded the van of the British, which division being chiefly engaged, suffered greatly in their masts and rigging; one of them, with all her pumps, could scarcely be kept above water, and they afterwards burnt her; she was the *Terrible*, of seventy-four guns.

By the British account, they suffered much more in their masts and tackling than the French; they had ninety men killed, and two hundred and forty-six wounded. The fleets remained within sight of each other, five days; but the French had so posted themselves, as to prevent any succours getting up York river. The British, therefore, returned to New York. Two British frigates, the *Iris* and *Richmond*, were captured by the French.

The allied army, destined to encounter the British in Virginia, were said to consist of seven thousand French, and five thousand, five hundred Continental regulars, assisted with some militia. They passed the North River, and proceeded via Philadelphia; they began to move from the neighbourhood of New York, towards the latter end of August, and the beginning of September they arrived at Williamsburg. Suitable dispositions being made, they invested York-town, and Gloucester. The allies began their operations, and on the evening of the 6th of October, broke ground within seven hundred yards of the enemy's lines. A parallel of a mile in extent, was completed, unperceived by the enemy; and before the evening of the 10th, they began a cannonade and bombardment, from upwards of sixty pieces of heavy ordnance and mortars; their fire being superior to the enemy's.

1781.

On the night of the 12th of October, the second parallel was begun, but not completed till the morn of the 15th. Two redoubts on the enemy's left, being necessary to effect it. They were stormed by the French grenadiers, under Baron *de Viomenil*, and the American light troops, under *Marquis de la Fayette*. The redoubts were defended by one hundred and fifty men, all of whom were either killed or taken. The allies' loss was about one hundred killed and wounded. On the evening of the 16th, Colonel *Abercrombie* of the Royalists, with eight companies of light troops, made an attack on the line of the besiegers, in two places, and got into two unfinished batteries and spiked a few pieces of cannon; but was soon repulsed with loss. On the evening of the 17th, a furious attack was made on the enemy's works, from the second parallel, from seventy pieces, at the distance of about two hundred and fifty yards, which occasioned Lord *Cornwallis* to order a parley to be beat, and to request a cessation of twenty-four hours, for Commissioners to be appointed by both parties, to adjust the terms of surrender. Sufficient time was granted by General *Washington* for this purpose. The Viscount *de Noailles* and Colonel *Laurens*, aids to his Excellency, having settled the preliminaries with Colonel *Dundas* and Major *Ross*, aids and Commissioners from Lord *Cornwallis*, the articles of capitulation were signed the 19th of October, about one o'clock, and interchanged; and about two, P. M. the British garrison, of *York*, led on by General *O'Hara* (*Cornwallis* being indisposed) was conducted by General *Lincoln*, through the allied army drawn up in two lines, to a field, where, having grounded their arms, and stripped off their accoutrements, they were re-conducted through the lines, and committed to the care of a guard. At the same time, and in the same manner, the garrison of *Gloucester* was surrendered to the command of the *Duc de Lauzun*. Previous to this, a detachment of Americans and French, took possession of the enemy's horn-works, and planted on them, the standards of the allied nations of America and France.

The only contest between the Americans and French, during the siege, was, who should excel in operations against the common enemy. An officer who left the allied army, the next day after the surrender of Lord *Cornwallis*, and his army, favoured the public, with the foregoing narrative of their operations, &c.

Substance of the capitulation agreed on between General *Washington*, Count *de Rochambeau*, and Count *de Grasse*

1781.

on the one part, and Earl Cornwallis and Thomas Symonds (commander of the British naval force at Virginia) on the other part.

"The mariners and seamen of the King's ships are prisoners of war to the navy of France, and the land forces to the United States.

"All military and artillery stores to be delivered up unimpaired. (The manner of surrender was with shouldered arms, colours cased and drums beating a British march to ground their arms and return to their encampment till their destination was fixed.)

"Officers to have their side arms allowed them, and their private property.

"The soldiers to be kept at Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania in regiments; to have rations allowed them equal to the Americans, and to have their officers near them.

"The General and other officers to go on paroles to England, New York, or other posts occupied by the British; the officers to keep soldiers or servants.

"Lord Cornwallis to man and dispatch the Bonetta sloop of War with dispatches to Sir Henry Clinton at New York; the vessel to be returned, and the hands accounted for.

"The traders to be allowed to dispose of their effects, and to be prisoners on parole.

"The shipping with all the stores, &c. to be delivered to an officer of the navy, &c.

"One article proposing "That the natives or inhabitants who had joined the British, should not be punished on that account, was not admitted by his Excellency General Washington, and referred to the civil power."

An official return states the loss on the side of the French, fifty killed and one hundred and twenty-seven wounded. Americans, twenty-seven killed, and seventy-three wounded. Total, two hundred and seventy-seven. Among the slain of the Americans is Colonel Scammel, a worthy officer, who had served with great reputation, as Adjutant-General of the Continental troops.

Cornwallis's account of his loss, during the siege, is one hundred and fifty-six killed, three hundred and twenty-six wounded, and seventy missing. Total, five hundred and fifty-two.

From the original muster-rolls of the British, a copy of which was transmitted to Congress by General Washington, the following appears to be their loss, viz.

1781.

*7247 Regulars, including the hospital and commissary departments.

75 brass	} cannon.	83 lbs.	} powder.
169 iron		89½ bbls.	
2025 fabres.		261 horses.	
7794 musquets.	} 1600 casks	pork, beef, flour and other provisions.	

A large quantity of artillery and military stores, regimental standards, German 18, British 10. Camp colours, German 32, British 41.

Military chest £2113 6s. sterling.

General Washington sent forward to Congress twenty-four of the standards to be preserved as trophies of this victory.

Lord Cornwallis having been reduced to such a situation, as obliged him to surrender, or attempt an escape, he made preparations for the latter,† expecting that though it should prove unsuccessful to its object, it might delay the allied forces in the prosecution of their enterprizes. A number of large boats were prepared, and upon other pretexs were ordered to be in readiness to receive troops precisely at an hour he had appointed; with these he hoped to pass the infantry in the night, abandoning his baggage, and leaving a detachment to capitulate for the town's people, and for the sick and wounded; on which subject a letter was ready to be delivered to General Washington.

After making his arrangements as secretly as he could, the light infantry, greatest part of the guards, and part of the twenty-third regiment embarked at the hour appointed, and landed at Gloucester; but a storm of wind and rain ensuing, drove all the boats, some of which had troops on board down the river. He soon found that the intended passage was impracticable. In this situation his force being divided, the batteries of the besiegers opened on him; the passage between York and Gloucester greatly exposed. The boats however returned, and were ordered to bring back the troops that had passed during the night, which was done, and they again joined his Lordship at York. This plan of getting off with his troops not succeeding, he thought it now time to open a correspondence with General Washington with proposals of surrender on the conditions above-mentioned.

* Another list published makes their loss 11,800, including 2000 sailors. 1800 negroes, and 1500 Tories, 80 vessels, large and small.

† See his letter written after his capture.

The Brigadiers Du Portait and Knox, for their services at the siege of York-town, were advanced to the rank of Major-Generals. 1781.

About the 4th of this month, Count De Grasse, with the French fleet, sailed from Virginia for the West-Indies.

[We regret the fate of this brave and experienced commander.

After his arrival at Hispaniola, he sailed again with his fleet to join the Spanish fleet, in a certain latitude, which was destined to recapture the island of Jamaica (which had been taken from the Spaniards in 1656, and had remained in possession of the English.) The British fleet under the Admirals Rodney, Hood, and Drake, fell in with the French fleet; and, on the 12th of April, 1782, had a severe engagement with them. The Count being overpowered by the enemy's force, after the bravest resistance, was obliged to strike to Sir Samuel Hood in the *Barfleur*.

The Count had his flag on board the *Ville de Paris* of one hundred and ten guns; besides which five other ships of the French squadron were captured by the British. The Count had the testimony of the principal British officers in his favour; they applauded his courage and conduct, and testified that he had done all it was in the power of any man to do in like circumstances, notwithstanding which, and the honour he had brought on the French flag in America, he was disgraced in France; his misfortune and ill treatment soon put an end to his life after his arrival there.]

This day was appointed by Congress, and accordingly observed throughout the United States, as a day of religious thanksgiving for the signal victory granted the allied army over the enemy at York-town, the 19th of October last.

Dec. 23,

At this period a revolution in the currency of the United States took place. The paper bills of credit, emitted by Congress and individual States, by their recommendation, to carry on the war, suddenly disappeared and went out of circulation; gold and silver appeared, and became the circulating medium. The foreign loans negotiated by the American ministers, the specie brought by the French troops and navy, together with the trade of the French and Spanish West-Indies (part of the returns being invested in hard money) facilitated this change in the currency of the States.

The capture of Earl Cornwallis and his army was humiliating to the British ministry, and frustrated their sanguine hopes of reducing America to the obedience of Parliament.

1782.

1782. On his Lordship's arrival in England (on his parole) he declared that "America was not to be conquered by fire and sword, let their numbers be ever so great." Lord North saw the futility of his schemes, and said that the form of the war all together should be altered. Lord George Germaine resigned his American Secretaryship, and quitted the idea of conquest. In fact all parties wished for peace.

March. The military operations of the royal army at New York were suspended. Sir Henry Clinton employed a number of his troops in cutting a canal from the north to the east river, to serve as a barrier against any attack from the Continental army, in case the suspension should be taken off, and the war be renewed.

Count De Rochambeau detached from his army in Virginia, about eight hundred troops to join General Greene in Carolina.

The latter end of this month a bill was prepared and brought into Parliament, "to enable his Majesty to conclude a peace and truce with the revolted Colonies in America."

An act was passed conformable to the principles of this bill and received the royal assent, but it was deficient in the two most essential points; it did not contain the least hint of granting independency to America, or including France in the truce proposed. The people were clamorous against the ministry; they had lost their confidence. Their measures were found to be ruinous in their consequences, to the nation, and a total change in the administration took place. The Marquis of Rockingham was appointed first Lord of the treasury in the room of Lord North. The views of the new ministry appeared to be pacific, something like an olive branch was held out to America, and Sir Guy Carlton dispatched there, with the act of truce, just mentioned, which, had it been passed after the change of the old ministry, would probably have contained the necessary requisites for making peace. Sir Guy Carlton was also to succeed Sir Henry Clinton as commander in chief of the troops at New York.

April. About the middle of this month Captain Joshua Huddy was inhumanly hanged at Middletown point, by a party of refugees. The story is thus told by the author of "Common Sense," in a letter to Sir Guy Carlton, after his arrival at New York.

"He was attacked at a small fort on Tom's river, by a party of refugees in the British pay and service, and made prisoner, together with his company, carried to New York and lodged

ed in the provost of that city. About three weeks after, he was taken out of the provost down to the water side, put into a boat, and brought again upon the Jersey shore, and there, contrary to the practice of all nations but savages, was hung on a tree, and left hanging until found by our people, who took him down and buried him.

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"The inhabitants of that part of the country where the murder was committed, sent a deputation to General Washington, with a full and certified state of the fact. Struck, as every humane breast must be, at such British outrage, and determined both to punish and prevent it for the future, the General represented the case to General Clinton, who then commanded and demanded that the refugee officer, who ordered and attended the execution, whose name is *Lippincut*, should be delivered up as a murderer, and in case of refusal, that the person of some British officer should suffer in his stead. The demand, though not refused, has not been complied with, and the melancholy lot (not by selection but by casting lots) has fallen upon Captain *Asgil*, of the guards, [a prisoner under the capitulation of York-town.] The refugees' pretence for this violent act, was, "That Captain Huddy sometime before, made prisoner of a certain Philip White of their party, and after having maimed him, broke both his legs, and tauntingly bid him run;" but (says the relator of this affair) "This flimsy story must have been created by the murderous hearts of the refugees to cloak their villainy." It was fully proved, that Captain Huddy was closely confined a prisoner at New York, at the time, and for many days before White was taken. To set this matter right, an extract of a letter, dated at Freehold, Monmouth county, 15th of April, was published at Trenton respecting White. It relates "His being taken the last of March, and after tokens of surrendering as a prisoner, he took up a musquet and killed a son of Colonel Hendrickson, but being taken by some light horse, and while they were conducting him to Freehold, he again attempted to make his escape, and being called upon several times to surrender, and continuing to run, when leaping into a bog impassable by the horse, he received a stroke on his head with a sword, which killed him instantly. The above facts were proved by affidavits of the persons who were present and by the voluntary testimony of one Aaron, who was taken prisoner with the said White."

The true cause of the barbarity to Captain Huddy, was said to be, his having several times bravely defended him-

1781.

self when attacked by the refugees, and in some instances been successful against them.

Sir Guy Carlton (after *Clinton's* departure) though applied to for the delivering up the perpetrators of this act, to save the life of the unfortunate *Asgil*, did not do it. *Lippencut* is said to have had a trial by a general court martial at New York, and was cleared by proving he acted under orders from the board of refugees; the President of which board had been the King's Governour of the neighbouring State, and had embarked for England.

[*Mrs. Asgil*, mother of the destined victim, wrote a moving letter to *M. Vergennes*, Minister of France, representing the youth (about nineteen) and innocence of her son, and the distress of her family, her husband sick, given over by his physicians, and her daughter seized with a delirium, &c. The humane minister interposed and represented the above circumstances to General Washington, and he to Congress, in consequence of which young *Asgil* was released by their order in the month of November.]

April 19.

The *United Provinces of Holland* having entered into alliance with France, offensive and defensive, consented thereby to defend the freedom of America, and now resolved to recognize the independency of said States, and in consequence thereof admitted *John Adams, Esq.* as Minister Plenipotentiary from the thirteen United States, to their High Mightinesses the States-General, to which office he had been appointed after Congress had advice of the capture of *Henry Laurens, Esq.* on his passage from Philadelphia to Holland, September 12th, 1780.

Mr. Adams had presented addresses to them on this subject in the months of March, 1781, and January, 1782, and they had deliberated on permitting him to deliver credentials but the question was not determined till this day. The credentials he delivered to the President of the States-General, was conceived in the following terms:

"Most High and Mighty Lords,

"The United States of America in Congress assembled, impressed with a sense of the prudence and magnanimity of their High Mightinesses, and of their unalterable attachments to the rights of humanity, and being desirous of cultivating a friendship with a nation so remarkable for their wisdom and moderation, have appointed *Mr. John Adams*, an ancient deputy in Congress, from the Province of Massachusetts, and a member of the Council of that State to reside near their High Mightinesses, in quality of Minister Plenipo-

tentiary, to the end that proof may be given to the Republic of the high esteem the Americans entertain of their High Mightinesses. Also are requested to confide unreservedly in whatever said Minister shall communicate from us, and especially when he shall assure them of the sincerity of our affection and respect, &c.

S. HUNTINGTON,

Philadelphia, January 1, 1781.

President."

1782.

A few days after delivery of the above, the American Minister presented a memorial relative to the business of his mission in the words following, viz. "That he was charged with an order of Congress to propose to the States-General, &c. a treaty of friendship and commerce, &c. between the two Republics, and requesting they would appoint one or more of its subjects to confer and treat with him on this important point."

May 15.

Commodore Gillon, commander of the South Carolina frigate, in a letter of this date to Governour Matthews of that State, informs him that "he, together with a fleet of Spanish and American vessels, sailed from Havannah, and invested *New Providence*. The Spanish General having summoned the Governour *Maxwell* to surrender, he delivered up the island, and the other Bahamas, by capitulation, to the Spanish General, Cagigal, in behalf of the crown of Spain.

Although there are not many good harbours among these islands, yet when it is considered that they extend from the latitude of $21^{\circ} 0'$, to the latitude of $27^{\circ} 30'$ north, and from the longitude of 70° to about the longitude of 79° west from London, filling up the seas from about opposite the centre of the island of Hispaniola, to above half way down the island of Cuba, and then stretching from Cape Florida, to very near a-brest of Cape Canaveral, on the continent of North America. Their being in possession of a friend or an enemy, is of no small consequence to the United States, especially as the different shoals and small islands, form a shelter for cruisers, and from the particular turn these people have for privateering, they succeeded so well as to capture upwards of an hundred and sixty vessels, during the last twelve months, many of which were Americans.

May 24.

Major-General Wayne at Georgia, writes to Major-General Greene of this date, "That the enemy were out in force from Savannah, in consequence of which he put the troops under his command, in motion, and having intelligence the 21st of May in what manner the troops were disposed; notwith-

1782.

standing the difficulty of the rout to their position, as well as the delicacy of a measure that would place him between the whole of the enemy's force in Georgia, but relying on the activity of his officers and troops he directed them to advance, upon conviction, that the success of an attack in the night depended more on prowess than numbers. On the Ogeebe road, about four miles south-west of Savannah, his vanguard charged the enemy with such vivacity as immediately terminated in the total defeat and dispersion of all the British cavalry, and a large body of infantry picked from the 7th regiment, the Hessians, Fannings, and Browne's regulars, with the Chictaco Indians, Tories, &c. commanded by Colonel Browne. The almost impenetrable thick woods, deep morasses, and swamps, into which they plunged in a dispersed state, under cover of the night, saved them from total ruin, at the expense of a great proportion of their arms and horses, which they abandoned to procure personal safety. A number fell into the hands, of General Wayne, among whom is Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas, dangerously wounded. He collected about twenty or thirty of their best dragoon horses, and Colonel Browne and Lieutenant-Colonel Ingram did not get back to Savannah till the second night after the action, and then unattended.

General Wayne effected this fatiguing march of forty miles in a few hours; and with the loss of only five privates killed and two wounded. The General advanced with his troops in view of the enemy's lines, but the commander, General Clarke, not choosing to come out, he marched his troops back to Ebenezer.

General *Leslie* now commander of the Royalists in Carolina, in consequence of some official papers, he had received from Sir Henry Clinton before he left the continent, proposed to General Greene a *cessation of arms*; but as the latter had no advice from Congress on that subject, he did not think himself at liberty to make such an agreement.

From a representation of the circumstances of the Royalists in that State, it appears they much needed the cessation proposed. The flying parties from Charleston, though they made frequent excursions into the country, had very little success. The Continentals having the possession of it, it was with much difficulty they got supplies of provisions except from the islands, which were greatly interrupted. It was at that time reported that the province had raised above 80,000 barrels of rice the year (1781) yet the British ships could not come at it before, and were obliged to leave Charleston in ballast. Their army there, was also greatly reduced by

the actions they had been engaged in, by sickness, and by desertion. 1782.

To make a *separate* peace, with the United States, exclusive of France, was the object of the act of Parliament brought to America by Sir Guy Carlton.

He delivered his public papers to Mr. Morgan, his Secretary, and requested of General Washington a passport for him to Congress, but they having previous knowledge of the tenor of the act, directed the commander in chief not to grant the passport requested, as it would be a waste of time to deliberate on terms they had some time before resolved were inadmissible by them.

Congress passed the following act:

June 21.

"Whereas the enemy, having renounced the hope of accomplishing their designs against the United States by force alone, are resorting to every expedient which may tend to corrupt the patriotism of their citizens, or to weaken the foundation of the public credit: And in pursuance of this policy, are encouraging, to the utmost, a clandestine traffic between the inhabitants of this country, and those who reside within the garrisons and places therein, now in their possession: And whereas some of the said inhabitants, prompted either by a sordid attachment to gain, or by a secret conspiracy with the enemies of their country, are wickedly engaged in carrying on this illicit traffic, whereby a market is provided for British merchandizes, the circulating specie is exported from the United States, the payment of taxes rendered more difficult and burthensome to the people at large, and great discouragement occasioned to honest and lawful commerce.

"Resolved, that it be and hereby is recommended to the Legislatures of the several States, to adopt the most efficacious measures for suppressing all traffic and illicit intercourse between their respective citizens and the enemy.

"Resolved, that the Legislatures, or in case of their recess, the Executives of the several States, be earnestly requested to impress, by every means in their power, on the respective citizens at large, the baneful consequences apprehended by Congress from a continuance of this illicit and infamous traffic, and the necessity of co-operating with the public measures, by such united, patriotic, and vigilant exertions, as will detect and bring to legal punishment, those who shall have been in any manner concerned therein."

Congress removed from Philadelphia to Princeton by direction of their President, Elias Boudinot, Esq. June 26.

1782.

Their removal was in consequence of a *mutiny*, which happened among a few of the Continental troops at Philadelphia (some Pennsylvania levies from Lancaster.) They seized the magazines, artillery, &c. surrounded the Senate House, and sent a letter to the President of Congress *demanding* "Their authority to appoint such officers over them as they could confide in, and would redress their grievances; that they had only twenty minutes to deliberate, and they might judge of the consequences if they refused." The President of the State of Pennsylvania, *John Dickinson, Esq.* interferred, with the light horse, &c. But it appeared to Congress, from the present state of things in Philadelphia, that there was not sufficient energy in that government to protect them, in case matters were brought to extremities, and therefore thought it prudent for that body to quit the city.

June 29.

At *Sharon*, about five miles from Savannah, General Wayne was attacked in a violent impetuous manner by a large body of *Cherokee* Indians, with whom, it was said, there was a British officer. They drove a light company in the rear of Colonel Posey's battalion, and took two pieces of artillery, but Captain Parker, assisted by Captain Gun, with his troops of dragoons advanced upon the enemy, notwithstanding a heavy fire and hideous yell. At the same time Colonel Posey and Major Finley charged the enemy in flank, and soon caused the total rout of the savages. Fourteen Indians and two whites were killed; among the former was *Emistifego*, their principal warrior. General Wayne had the precaution to prevent a junction of the British garrison at Savannah with the savages. When the Royalists came out he drove them back. They took one British standard, and one hundred and twenty-seven horses with packs. Of the Continentals, five were killed, and eight wounded. The following story was told in Carolina: "That in the engagement, a single combat was fought between the General and the Indian chief *Emistifego*. When the General's horse was shot under him, and the tomahawk of the chief uplifted, and in the moment of putting an end to his life, a dragoon, came up and dispatched the Indian warrior with his sword."

July 21.

This day the British *evacuated* Savannah, in Georgia, and General Wayne took possession of it. This brave man, humane, and generous as he is brave, instead of making them suffer for the part they had taken, issued general orders that no insult or depredations should be committed on the inhab-

itants by his troops; the civil authority to take cognizance of criminals and default if any there was.

1782.

The merchants and traders to give genuine invoices of their goods of every species, and a reasonable profit to be allowed them for such articles as should be taken for use of the army, &c.

The Royalists under the orders of General Leslie, were this month ravaging Combakee river, in quest of rice, and other provisions for the garrison of Charleston. General Greene detached some light troops under General Gift to oppose them; they missed them, and were obliged to retire without obtaining their object, but the Continentals sustained a very heavy loss; Colonel John Laurens, being slain this day in a skirmish with another party of the enemy's troops. This gentleman was son of Henry Laurens, Esq. late President of Congress, and had been employed by them on a special embassy to France, to obtain a loan for the United States. He arrived in that kingdom the 14th of November, and having succeeded in his negotiation; he returned to his country with Mr. T. Paine (who accompanied him there.) He is the last officer of note, slain in the war, and is characterized "As having possessed abilities equal to the highest stations."

Aug. 27:

Brigadier-General Marrian repulsed a party of one hundred horse, and some dragoons, who had crossed Biggin's bridge at Fardo's plantation, under Major Fraser; they broke and retreated in confusion, leaving behind them a Captain Gillis, and three men dead; one prisoner, eight horses, and a mule, killed and taken. General Marrian lost his ammunition waggon, and baggage; the driver being affrighted drove off, contrary to orders. The enemy took the road to Huge's bridge, and Major Conyers was dispatched in pursuit of them. The day after this affair happened, the General forwarded the above account to Governour Matthews.

Aug. 29:

In this month arrived at New York, Admiral Lord Hood, in the *Barfleur*, from the West-Indies; and Admiral Pigot, with several sail of the line, from Jamaica. After having recruited, they took their departure.

September:

A treaty of commerce was signed in Holland between the Deputies of the seven United Provinces, and Mr. Adams Ambassador from Congress.

Oct. 7.

The British government having tried every means in their power to subjugate the United States without success, were at length convinced, it was time to give over the war, desist from further offensive operations in America; and enter into

Nov. 30:

1782. negotiations for a general pacification, as France and the United States would not negotiate unless jointly.

A Commissioner was sent from the court of London, to Paris to treat with the American Plenipotentiaries there. The provisional articles offered by Messrs. Adams, Franklin, Jay, and Laurens, on the part of the United States, were accepted and signed at Paris this day by them, and Richard Oswald, Esq. the British Commissioner. In the first article, of which Great-Britain acknowledges the thirteen United States of America, to be *free, sovereign, independent States*, and relinquishes all claim to the government, property, and territorial rights of the same.

France and Holland also adjusted their disputes, but the separate treaties with them were not signed at this time.*

Dec. 14. General Leslie, with the Royalists evacuated South Carolina. The civil police in Charleston was re-established by the American inhabitants.

The Americans had now repossession of all the southern States. It was said, not less than eighteen thousand men, had been employed by the British in their expeditions in that quarter.

1783. The Earl of Shelburne was Prime Minister, on decease of the Marquis of Rockingham, and at the time the provisional articles of peace with America were signed, but retired from the helm of government, before the ratification of them. The Duke of Portland was mounted in his place. Lord North came again into administration, as one of the principal Secretaries of State; but the Ministry, formed under the Duke of Portland, was of short duration, and a new arrangement took place.

January. A report was circulated through the American camp, "That Congress did not mean to comply with their resolves, respecting half pay." This operated very powerfully on the minds of the officers of the army, and occasioned them to forward an address to Congress, in behalf of themselves, and their brethren, the soldiers. They asked for a supply of money to be forwarded immediately to the army, for a settlement of the accounts of arrearages of pay, and security for what is due; for a commutation of half for full pay for a certain number of years, or for a sum in gross as should be agreed on; for a settlement of accounts, for deficiencies of rations, and compensations, and of the deficiencies

* Treaty with France signed January 20, 1783, with Holland in September.

of clothing and compensations. They conclude their address in these words, "The pressure of evils and injuries, which in the course of seven long years have made their condition, in many instances, wretched, they therefore entreat that Congress (to convince the army, and the world, that the independence of America shall not be placed on the ruin of any particular class of citizens) will point out a mode for immediate redress, and that the disabled officers and soldiers, with the widows and orphans of those who have expended, or may expend their lives, in the service of their country may be comprehended, and that some mode be pointed out for the eventual payment of those soldiers, who are the subjects of the resolution of Congress of the 15th of May, 1778."

In consequence of this address, Congress passed the following resolves; viz. 1783.
Jan. 25.

"That the Superintendent of finance, be directed conformable to the measures already taken for that purpose, as soon as the state of the public finances will permit, to make such payment, and in such manner as he shall think proper till the further order of Congress.

"With respect to the second article of the address: (The settlement of accounts of the arrearages of pay.) That the several States be called upon to complete, without delay, the settlements with their respective lines of the army, up to the first day of August, 1780; and that the Superintendent of finance to take such measures as shall appear to him, most proper, for effecting the settlement from that period. That the troops of the United States in common with all creditors of the same, have an undoubted right to expect security [for what shall be found due] and Congress will make every effort in their power, to obtain from the respective States, substantial funds adequate to the object of funding the whole debt of the United States, and will enter upon an immediate and full consideration of the nature of such funds, and the most likely mode of obtaining them."

The remainder of the report of the committee on the subject of the address, was referred to a committee of five.

General M'Dougal and Colonel Ogden, two of the army agents, dispatched to Congress on the business of the address, in a letter to General Knox, made known to the army their success; and Colonel Brooks returned to camp, to inform them, by word of mouth, of the prospect of commutation, or obtaining an equivalent for half pay, which they had proposed in their address. General M'Dougal continued at Congress on the army business, whilst the impression Feb. 8.

1783.

(however false) remained on the minds of some officers; and notwithstanding Congress were doing all that the circumstances of the States would admit to relieve and satisfy the army.

March 10. Some *anonymous* papers, addressed to the officers, &c. made their appearance, and were calculated to inflame their minds, and cause sedition in the army; but the wise and prudent conduct of the commander in chief prevented it.

March 18. The commander in chief, in a letter to the President of Congress, dated this day, inclosed the result of the grand convention of officers, who had met agreeable to his orders, on the 15th instant; his Excellency opened the convention with an address to them on the subject of their being called together, in which he acquaints them that, "By an anonymous summons, an attempt has been made to convene you together; how inconsistent with the rules of propriety! how unmilitary! and how subversive of all good order and discipline! let the good sense of the army decide. In the moment of this summons, another anonymous production was sent into circulation, addressed more to the feelings and passions, than to the reason and judgment of the army; the author of the peace is entitled to much credit for the goodness of his pen, and I could wish he had as much credit for the rectitude of his heart; for as men see through different opticks, and are induced by the reflecting faculties of the mind, to use different means to obtain the same end, the author of the address should have had more charity than to mark for suspicion the man, who should recommend moderation and longer forbearance, or in other words, who does not think as he thinks, and act as he advises. But he had another plan in view, in which candour and liberality of sentiment, regard to justice and love of country, have no part; and he was right to insinuate the darkest suspicion to affect the blackest designs.

"That the address is drawn with great art, and is designed to answer the most insidious purposes; that it is calculated to impress the mind with an idea of premeditated injustice in the sovereign power of the United States, and rouse all those resentments which must unavoidably flow from such a belief; that the secret mover of this scheme (whoever he may be) intended to take advantage of the passions, while they were warmed by the recollection of past distresses, without giving time for cool deliberate thinking, and that composure of mind, which is so necessary to give dignity, and stability to mea-

1783.

ures, is rendered too obvious by the mode of conducting the business to need other proof than a reference to the proceeding. Thus much, gentlemen, I have thought it incumbent on me to observe to you, to shew upon what principles I opposed the irregular and hasty meeting, which was proposed to have been held on Thursday last, and not because I wanted a disposition to give you every opportunity consistent with your own honour, and the dignity of the army to make known your grievances," &c. After shewing the impracticability of the measures proposed in the anonymous addresses, his confidence in the gratitude and justice of Congress, and pledging himself to exert whatever ability he possessed in their favour, and recommending them not to take any measures which, viewed in the calm light of reason, would lessen the dignity they had hitherto maintained. His Excellency withdrew, and the convention unanimously resolved to present him their thanks for his excellent speech.

General Knox, Colonel Brooks, and Captain Howard, were appointed a committee to draw up some resolutions, expressive of the business of the convention. They reported, and the convention

"Resolved unanimously, that at the commencement of the present war, the officers of the American army, engaged in the service of their country, from the purest love and attachment to the rights and liberties of human nature, which motives still exist in the highest degree, and that no circumstance of distress or danger shall induce a conduct, that may tend to sully the reputation and glory, which they have acquired at the price of their blood, and eight years faithful services.

"Resolved unanimously, that the army continue to have an unshaken confidence in the justice of Congress and their country, and are fully convinced that the Representatives of America will not disband, or disperse the army, until their accounts are liquidated, the balances accurately ascertained, and adequate funds established for payment. And in this arrangement, the officers expect that the half pay, or commutation of it, should be efficaciously comprehended.

"Resolved unanimously, that his Excellency the commander in chief, be requested to write to his Excellency the President of Congress, earnestly intreating the more speedy decision of that honourable body, upon the subjects of our late address, which was forwarded by a committee of the army, some of whom are waiting upon Congress, for the result. In the alternative of peace or war, this event would be high-

1783.

ly satisfactory, and would produce immediate tranquillity in the minds of the army, and prevent any further machinations of designing men to sow discord between the civil and military powers of the United States.

“Resolved unanimously, that the officers of the American army view with abhorrence, and reject with disdain the infamous propositions contained in a late anonymous address to the officers of the army, and resent with indignation the secret attempts of some unknown persons, to collect the officers together, in a manner, totally subversive to all discipline and good order.

“Resolved unanimously, that the thanks of the officers of the army, be given to the committee who presented to Congress the late address of the army, for the wisdom and prudence with which they have conducted that business; and that a copy of the proceedings of this day, be transmitted by the President to Major-General M'Dougal; and that he be requested to continue his solicitations at Congress, until the objects of his mission are accomplished. The meeting was then dissolved.

(Signed)

HORATIO GATES,

President.

March 22. This day Congress came to the following resolutions:

“Whereas the officers of the several lines under the immediate command of his Excellency, General Washington, did by their late memorial transmitted, represent to Congress that the half pay granted by sundry resolutions, was regarded in an unfavourable light by the citizens of some of the States, who would prefer a compensation for a limited term of years, or by a sum in gross, to an establishment for life; and did, on that account, solicit a commutation of their half pay for an equivalent, in one of the modes abovementioned, in order to remove all subjects of dissatisfaction from the minds of their fellow citizens. And whereas, Congress are desirous, as well of gratifying the reasonable expectations of the officers of the army, as of removing all objections which may exist in any part of the United States, to the principles of the half pay establishment, for which the faith of the United States hath been pledged; persuaded that those objections can only arise from the nature of the compensation, not from any indisposition to compensate those, whose services, sacrifices and sufferings, have so justly a title to the approbation and rewards of their country.

“Therefore resolved, that such officers as are now in service, and shall continue therein to the end of the war, shall

be entitled to receive the amount of five years full pay in money, and securities on interest, at six per cent. per annum, as Congress shall find most convenient: instead of the half pay promised for life, by the resolution of the 21st day of October, 1780. The said securities to be such as shall be given to the creditors of the United States. Provided that it be at the option of the lines of the respective States, and not of officers; individuals in those States to accept or refuse the same. And provided also, that their election shall be signified to Congress, through the commander in chief, from the lines under his immediate command within two months; and through the commanding officer of the southern army, from those under his command, within six months, from the date of this resolution.

“That the same commutation shall extend to the corps not belonging to the lines of particular States, and who are entitled to half pay for life as aforesaid; the acceptance or refusal to be determined by corps, and to be signified in the same manner, and within the same time as above mentioned.

“That all officers belonging to the hospital department, who are entitled to half pay by the resolution of the 17th day of January, 1781, may collectively agree to accept, or refuse the aforesaid commutation, signifying the same thro’ the commander in chief, within six months from this time.

“That such officers as have retired at different periods, entitled to half pay for life, may, collectively in each State, in which they are inhabitants, accept or refuse the same; their acceptance or refusal to be signified by agents, authorized for that purpose, within six months from this period. That with respect to such retiring officers, the commutation, if accepted by them, shall be in lieu of whatever may be now due to them, since the time of their retiring from service, as well as of what might hereafter become due, and that as soon as their acceptance shall be signified, the Superintendent of finance be, and he is hereby directed to take measures for the settlement of their accounts accordingly, and to issue to them certificates bearing interest at six per cent.

“That all officers entitled to half pay for life, not included in the preceding resolution, may also collectively agree to accept, or refuse the aforesaid commutation, signifying the same within six months from this time.”

The war being ended, we will now see how the account stands, and we shall find the following to be a just statement of it.

1783.

A loss to Great-Britain, of two large armies, captured by the States (exclusive of many thousands, killed and taken in various actions of the war.) Thirteen colonies dismembered from them, and an increase of their national debt, in seven years, one hundred and twenty millions.

The United States have gained independency and the liberty they contended for, and find their debt to be less than forty-five millions of dollars (which is short of ten million pounds sterling, viz. (£9,993,424 9s. 6d. sterling.)

The national debt of Great-Britain, at this period, amounts to the enormous sum of two hundred and forty million pounds sterling.

The whole of the American debt is, viz.

Foreign debt	- - -	7,885,085
Domestic do.	- - -	34,115,290
Annual interest on both, foreign at 5 per cent. domestic, 6 per cent. per annum	}	2,415,956

Dollars

44,416,331

April 11.

Congress took into consideration the state of their national debt, and for the purpose of discharging it, and restoring the public credit, they recommended and resolved on "An impost upon goods imported into the States from any foreign ports." On the articles of rum, sugar, molasses, wine, cotton, coffee, and India teas, the duty is stipulated and fixed. On all other goods (agreeable to this resolve) a duty of five per cent. ad valorem is to be paid. This impost to continue not longer than twenty-five years.* Congress also recommended to the several States to establish for the same term, substantial revenues, as should be most convenient to supply their respective proportions of one million five hundred thousand dollars annually, exclusive of the forementioned duties.

May 26.

At, or about the time Congress had agreed on the *commutation act*, they received advice, that the provisional articles of peace were signed, but as the *Definitive Treaty* was delayed, the army could not prudently be totally disbanded. Economy was therefore consulted, and it was thought proper to lessen the public expenditures as conveniently as could be

* The plan of Impost was not adopted by all the States, till the new Federal Constitution took place in 1789.

In their first session, they passed "an impost bill," and impost offices were established in each State of the Union.

done. Accordingly Congress resolved, "To instruct the commander in chief to grant *furloughs* to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, enlisted to serve during the war, who were to be discharged as soon as the definitive treaty of peace was concluded, together with a proportionable number of commissioned officers.

1783.

As soon as this resolution was known by the army, and the commander in chief had issued orders conformable thereto, the Generals and officers of the troops, in cantonment on Hudson's river, addressed his Excellency on the subject; and expressed their dissatisfaction with it. They solicit him, "That the order of the second of June, founded on the act of Congress, of the 26th of May, may be suspended, or varied in its operation. So far as that no officer or soldier be *obliged* to receive a furlough, until that Honourable body can be apprized of the wretched situation into which they must be plunged by a conformity to it. That your Excellency will endeavour to prevail on Congress, nay, that on the principles of common justice, you will insist that neither officer nor soldier be *compelled* to leave the field, until a liquidation of accounts can be effected, till the balances are ascertained, certificates for the sums due given, including the commutation of half pay to the officers, and the gratuity of eighty dollars to the soldiers, and till a supply of money can be furnished sufficient to carry us from the field of glory, with honour to ourselves and credit to our country."

June.

To this address, the commander in chief, returned an answer, and justifies the measure Congress had taken, "That it undoubtedly was by a reduction of expense, to enable the financier to make the three months pay to the army, which on all hands have been agreed to, be absolutely and indispensably necessary."

His Excellency informed them that he had sent a message to the financier to urge the necessity of forwarding the notes [for the three months payment] with all possible dispatch. That the expense of every day, feeding the whole army, would increase very considerably, the inability of the public, to discharge the debts already incurred, at least, for a considerable time to come.

His Excellency relying on the good intentions of Congress, respecting the army, he complied on certain conditions, with the request of the officers, in their address to him, *considering furloughs in all services, as a matter of indulgence, and not of compulsion.*

On this day, the commander in chief wrote to his Excellency, the President of Congress, from his Head Quarters

June 7.

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at Newburgh, and enclosed to him the address of the Generals and officers, to him, and his answer. He informed the President that the principle subjects of complaint, was the delay of the three months payment, and the settlement of accounts; that he had made some little alterations respecting furloughs, &c.

June 21.

General Greene took leave of the army he had commanded in Carolina, and in his general orders of this date, he tells them "It is his happiness that he had the honour to command an army, not less distinguished for its patience, than bravery; and it will add no small lustre to your character to say, that you have rejected with abhorrence, the practice of plundering and the exercise of cruelty, although urged by your necessities to the former, and by the example of your enemies to the last. United by principle, and connected by affection, you have exhibited to the world, a proof that elevated souls, and persevering tempers, can triumph over every difficulty."

August 7.

Congress, impressed with a sense of the services of the commander in chief of the army of the United States, wished to exhibit a *permanent* testimony of it, and at their session in Princeton, resolved to erect a monument of General Washington, viz. "That an equestrian statue of his Excellency, be erected at the place where the residence of Congress shall be established. The American Commissioners in France, to employ the best artists in Europe to execute the design, which Congress proposed, should be as follows, viz. "On the marble pedestal, which is to support the statue, is to be represented in *Basso relievo*, the principal events of the war, in which General Washington commanded in person, evacuation of Boston, capture of Trenton, battle of Princeton, action at Monmouth, surrender of York." Besides this intended demonstration of respect, at the request of Congress, his Excellency attended them the 26th of August, and received the united thanks of America, in an address to him, by their President (Elias Boudinot, Esq.)

Aug. 26.

"Your Excellency's services (said the President) have been essential in acquiring, and establishing the freedom and independence of your country, they deserve the grateful acknowledgments of a free and independent nation. These acknowledgments, Congress have the satisfaction of addressing to your Excellency. Hostilities have now ceased, but your country still needs your service, and wishes to avail herself of your talents, informing the arrangements which will be necessary for it in the time of peace," &c. &c. At

what greater honour can any mere man arrive, than to receive the united acknowledgments of three millions of people assembled by their Representatives, declaring to all the world that he hath been the temporal saviour of his country?

1783.

The definitive treaty of peace was signed the 23d of September, and Congress having ratified it, they issued a proclamation to disband their army. The proclamation purports, "That part of the army which stood engaged to serve during the war, and by several acts of Congress, had been furloughed, should be absolutely discharged after the 3d of November from said service; and that the further service in the field of the officers deranged, and on furlough, are now dispensed with, and they have permission to retire from service, no more to be called to command," &c. In the proclamation, Congress give their thanks to the army for their exertions in the cause of America, and the common rights of mankind.

Oct. 18.

The mode of disbanding the army, was well calculated to prevent any disorders which might have been the consequence of dismissing a large number of men in a body. The advice of their beloved commander in chief, and the resolves of Congress to pay, and compensate them in such manner as the ability of the United States would permit, operated to keep them quiet, and prevent tumult.

General Washington, in his farewell orders of this date, took leave of the army in a very affectionate address to them; he acknowledges the assistance they had given him, and expresses his wishes for their future good conduct, when they returned to their citizenship, and also that they might be amply rewarded for their services.

Nov. 3.

The next day, the 4th of November, the first division of the British fleet took their departure from New York; and on the 25th of the same month, the British army evacuated the city, when General Washington and Governour Clinton took possession of the same.

Nov. 4.

At the celebration of the definitive treaty of peace at New York, the commander in chief of the American army expressed his desire to resign his commission, and to retire. Some of the principal officers, who with him had trod the path of military glory, and had gained laurels in the fields of America, took their leave of his Excellency, resigned their commissions and returned to their former stations of private citizens. General Washington left the city, crossed North River, and repaired to Congress then sitting at *Annapolis* in Maryland; and here he delivered into their hands the com-

Dec. 3.

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Dec. 23.

mission he had received from them, and had so ably and successfully executed.

The ceremony performed on this occasion is thus related: "On the 25th day of December, a beautiful group of ladies appeared at Congress, the Governour, Council and Legislature of that State, several general officers, the Consul of France, and the respectable citizens of Annapolis. Congress were seated and covered as representatives of the sovereignty of the union, the spectators uncovered and standing.

His Excellency, after a decent pause, addressed Congress in the following words:

"The great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country, happy in the confirmation of our independency and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation. I resign with satisfaction the appointment I received with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however was superfed by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the union, and the patronage of heaven." After encomiums on the army, and recommending to the notice of Congress, his household confidential servants, his Excellency proceeded: "I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last act of my official life, by recommending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping. Having finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

This was a moving scene: "Congress, (as the President expressed it) received his address and resignation with emotions too affecting for utterance."

The United States of America being now free, sovereign and independent, the author of *Common Sense* says, "She has an arduous task before her, that is, to make a wise improvement of her independence; such an improvement as will promote its prosperity, and make it illustrious among the nations. Finance, revenue and funds are among the first objects of its attention; to do justice to the soldiers," &c.

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We cannot better conclude a journal of the principal incidents of the American war, than with the following pertinent reflections thereon, contained in an excellent address of *Judge Jay*, delivered on a public occasion at New York, when he was chief Justice of that State.

"The war (said the chief Justice) was begun and has been successful, in a manner so singular, and I may say miraculous, that when future ages shall read the history, they will be tempted to consider it as fabulous.

"What, among other things, can appear more unworthy of credit, than that in an enlightened age, in a celebrated and christian country, in a nation so celebrated for humanity, as well as love of liberty and justice, as the English once justly were, a prince should arise, who, by the influence of corruption only, should be able to seduce them into a combination, to reduce three millions of his most loyal and affectionate subjects to absolute slavery, under pretence of a right appertaining to God alone, *of binding them in all cases whatever*, not even excepting cases of conscience and religion?

"What can appear more improbable, though true, than that this prince, and this people should obstinately steel their hearts, and shut their ears against the most humble petitions, and affectionate remonstrances, and unjustly determine by violence and force, to execute designs which were reprobated by every principle of humanity, equity, gratitude, and policy. Designs which would have been execrable if intended against savages and enemies, and yet formed against men descended from the same common ancestors with themselves; men who had liberally contributed to their support, and cheerfully fought their battles, even in remote and baleful countries?

"Will it not appear extraordinary, that thirteen colonies, the object of these wicked designs, divided by variety of governments and manners, should immediately become one people, and though without funds, without magazines, without disciplined troops, in the face of their enemies unanimously determine to be free, and undaunted by the power of Britain, refer their cause to the justice of the Almighty, and resolve to repel force by force; thereby presenting to the world an illustrious example of magnanimity and virtue, scarcely to be paralleled?

"Will it not be matter of doubt and wonder, that notwithstanding these difficulties, they should raise armies, establish funds, carry on commerce, grow rich by the spoils of their enemies, and bid defiance to the armies of Britain, and

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the savages of the wilderness? But however incredible these things in future may appear, *we know them to be true*; and, we should always remember that the many remarkable means and events by which our wants have been supplied, and our enemies repelled, or restrained, are such strong and striking proofs of the interposition of heaven, that our having been hitherto delivered from the threatened bondage of Britain, ought like the emancipation of the Jews from Egyptian servitude, to be forever ascribed to *its true cause*, and instead of swelling our hearts with arrogant ideas of our prowess and importance, kindle in them a flame of gratitude and piety, which may consume all remains of vice, and irreligion."

The smiles of heaven on the American Revolution thro' its several stages, must be confessed by all, who have paid attention to the events. The following have been noticed as remarkable, "The fewness of apostacies in the capital characters, the fewness of desertions to the enemy; the sailors, taken in the American service, have preferred the honours of a prison-ship, to fighting against the country who had employed them. Men of every rank, have generally felt, and spoke alike, as if the cords of life (says a remarker) struck unison through the continent, the preservation of the *union* of the States, the purity of Congress, the unshaken patriotism of every general assembly, the aid and support granted by a foreign powerful ally, the credit the United States obtained in Europe so as to procure the loan of large sums of money; to which may be added, the preservation of the health, life, and patriotism of the commander in chief; his acceptableness to the soldiery, the unexpected supplies at critical periods, by captures from their enemy (hinted at, in the foregoing address,) the efforts of an *infant* country, prevailing over an *elder* country, full of resources, and obliging the latter to yield to the former."

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.
